THE HISTORY OF THE Powder-Treason, WITH A VINDICATION OF THE PROCEEDINGS, and Matters relating thereunto, from the Exceptions made againſt it, and more particularly of late years by the Authour of the *Catholick Apologie*, and Others.

To which is added,

A PARALLEL betwixt That and the preſent Popiſh Plot.

LONDON,
Printed by *J. D.* for *Richard Chiſwell*, at the Roſe and Crown in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard. 1681.

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OF THE

VINDICATION

OF THE

HISTORY

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TO THE READER.

UPon the Reprinting of this Tract, I not only compared things again, and corrected and added as I saw Occasion; but also had a design as I went along to consider what Objections were made by those of the Church of Rome *against the matter of it. I find indeed, that they have very much laboured in it, and have by several little Arts endeavoured to clear their Church from the Scandal of it; but to so little purpose, that I think it no hard matter to detect and confute them. This I thought to have done, and had made preparation for it; but the work hath grown so much in my hands, that it will rather be a little Book than an Appendix, and will require more time than I have now to finish it.*

READER.

THE HISTORY OF THE GUNPOWDER TREASON.

THere are no Conſpiracies and Inſurrections more dangerous to States and Governments, than thoſe that the name of Religion is made to patronize; for when that doth head and manage the Party, as it makes it look ſomewhat conſiderable in it ſelf, ſo it doth inſpire thoſe that are concerned with a certain furious and intemperate zeal, and an ungovernable violence; they then rebel with authority, and kill with a ſafe conſcience, and think they cannot do amiſs as long as it is to *do God ſervice*. *The Brother will then deliver up the Brother to death, and the Father the Child: and the Children will riſe up againſt their Parents, and cauſe them to be put to death*; and the Laws of Nature, which are of themſelves ſacred and inviolable, ſhall in ſuch a caſe be deſpiſed and loſe their authority. This, this is it which in theſe latter Ages more eſpecially hath diſturbed Governments, diſpoſed of the Crowns of Princes, and troubled the peace of the world: From hence ſprung all thoſe miſchiefs that threatned & perpetually allarm'd this Nation during the long and fortunate Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*: From hence proceeded that barbarous and bloody deſign of the *Gunpowder Treaſon* in the year 1605. Such a Deſign

as

as the World before never heard of, and which Posterity will hardly believe for the horror of it, say the soberer of their own *Authors: such a design as even some of the Jesuits, after it miscarried, and they saw how ill it was resented by the rest of Mankind, professed their detestation of*; but how little to their own vindication, and the satisfaction of the World, will easily appear to any one that doth impartially inquire into the History and the process of it. For this design was not taken up of a sudden, and what a small company of rash and hot-headed persons did without consideration attempt, but what proceeded from the same original, and was carried on by the same Counsels and Endeavours that were in being in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*; the Principals in which for their time were *Garnet* the Provincial of the Jesuits in *England*, *Baldwin* in *Flanders*; and *Creswel* in *Spain*; these were the great Projectors and Encouragers of that which was called the *Spanish Treason* in the last year of Queen *Elizabeth*, and which, when defeated in by her death, and the Peace that issued upon it betwixt the Crowns of *England* and *Spain*, they were put upon new Counsels, and forced to take other Measures for the prosecution of it.

* *Thuanus, Barclay, Rog. Widdrington* in his Apolog. *pro jure Principum. Pag.* 1.

*Mori *historia Missionis Anglicanæ præfat.*

The *Spanish* Treason.

It was in *Decemb.* in the year 1601, that *Tho. Winter* was sent into *Spain* by the joynt advice of *Henry Garnet* and *Oswald Tesmond*, alias *Greenwel*, Jesuits, and of *Robert Catesby* and *Francis Tresham*, Gentlemen of good quality and reputation, to try what could be done for *Their* assistance that were ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for the Catholick Cause; and to assure the King of *Spain* that could they but prevail with him to send over an Army, they would have in readiness 1500 or 2000 horses

horſes for the ſervice. With *Winter* was ſent over *Oſwald Teſmond*, and by them a Letter to *Creſwel* the Jeſuit then reſiding there: By whoſe Mediation the motion was readily hearkned to, and *Don Pedro Franceſa*, ſecond Secretary of State, and the Duke of *Lerma*, did aſſure them of the King's furtherance and help; and in the Concluſion the Count of *Miranda* particularly told them, That his Maſter had reſolved to beſtow two hundred thouſand Crowns to that uſe, half to be paid that year, and the reſt the next following, and that at *Spring* he would without fail ſet footing in *England*.

About the latter end of the year, *Thomas Winter* returns with this joyful news, and they were now buſie in preparing for it, and almoſt every day expecting the arrival of theſe Forces, when of a ſudden all was daſhed by the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, which was *March* 24. 1602. Upon this *Chriſtopher Wright* is immediately diſpatched into *Spain*, to give the King notice of it; and about the ſame time was *Guy Fawks* ſent with Letters and Commiſſion from Sir *William Stanly*, *Hugh Owen*, and *Baldwin* the *Jeſuit* (who were then in *Flanders*, and ready to attend and to proſecute the ſame Deſign): But That King told them, That he was now otherwiſe reſolved, and it became him not to hearken to ſuch propoſals, after he had ſent Embaſſadors to the new King of *England* to treat of a Peace. It was now therefore fit either to let their Deſign fall, or to betake themſelves to ſome other courſe to effect it; but the Former, their Temper and their Principles would not permit; And therefore ſince they could not promiſe themſelves ſucceſs therein by force, they did contrive how without any noiſe or viſible and open preparations it might be obtained.

That

The rise of the Gun-powder-Plot.

That a King or Queen who is an Heretick may be deposed or killed, was current Doctrine amongst them, in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, and what they had been taught from Father *Parsons* and *Creswel*, or whoever was the Author of the Book called *Philopater**, and by *Tresham* in his Book *de officio hominis Christiani*, found with them about this time. And though the King was not formally declared and proceeded against as such, yet it was thought sufficient by them that the Pope on *Maunday-Thursday* did censure and condemn all Hereticks in the general, as *Guy Fawks* and others of them did confess. And therefore the Question was not so much about the lawfulness of it, as about the order that was to be observed, and the way that was fit to be taken in it. *Catesby*, who was no Novice in these affairs, and that from his acquaintance with *Parsons* when in *England*, and *Garnet* and the other Jesuits (to whose order he and his Family, from *Campian* down to this time, were particularly devoted) had learned great skill and subtilty, quickly contrived this for them; and when *Thomas Percy*, who was of the House of *Northumberland*, and at that time one of the King's Pensioners, according to the bluntness of his temper, did offer himself for the service, and that he would without any more adoe undertake to assassinate the King; This wary Gentleman replied, That would be too dear a purchase, when his own life would be hazarded in it; and it was unnecessary, when it might as well be accomplished without it; And so acquaints him in part with what was intended.

* V. *Watson's Quodlibets*, p. 11. 71. 265, 284.

Proceedings against the Traitors.

Before this was fit to be fully Communicated, he thought it necessary that there should be some care taken to oblige all to Secrecy; for which purpose an Oath

Oath was deviſed that every one ſhould take, and which was accordingly adminiſtred to them by *Gerard* the Jeſuit. The Oath was,

You ſhall ſwear by the Bleſſed Trinity, and by the Sacrament you now purpoſe to receive, never to diſcloſe Directly nor Indirectly, by word or circumſtance, the matter that ſhall be propoſed to you to keep Secret, nor deſiſt from the Execution thereof, until the reſt ſhall give you leave. The Oath of Secrecy.

This was taken, and the Sacrament upon it received by *Catesby*, *Percy*, *John Wright*, *Thomas Winter*, and *Fawkes*, in *May*, 1604.

Upon which *Catesby* communicated the whole, and told them, That at the meeting of the Parliament which now drew on, they would have a fair Opportunity to conſummate all their wiſhes, and, without being obſerved and diſcovered, by one fatal Blow to deſtroy the King, the Prince, the Duke, and the Parliament at once; for as long as there were thoſe Branches of the Royal Family remaining, to what purpoſe would it be to make away the King; and as long as there was a Parliament in being, what ſhould they get if they could not as well Deſtroy the Branches as the Root. Therefore his Deſign was to extirpate at once all the ſeeds of Hereſie, and by a train of Powder conveniently laid under the Houſe in which at that time they ſhould all be aſſembled, to Blow them up, and their Cauſe together. This was what the Confederates very well approved of, and now they united Counſels and Endeavours to carry it on. The Plot.

The firſt thing to be conſidered, was the hiring of the Houſe, and this *Percy* undertook, and having not without ſome difficulty perſuaded the preſent Tenant *Fer-* The Houſe made choice of.

ris to quit it, he became immediate Tenant to *Whinyard*, Keeper of the *Wardrobe*, at whoſe diſpoſal it was in the Intervals of Parliament. The Houſe was committed to the care of *Fawkes*, as being leaſt known, who, the better to conceal himſelf, changed his name to *Johnſon*, and gave himſelf out to be *Percy*'s Servant. Whilſt they were thus buſie in contriving and carrying on their Plot, the Parliament was Prorogued till *February* the 7th, upon which they diſperſed themſelves into ſeveral Countreys; but to loſe no time, did think of taking in ſome other Perſons, whom they might confide in, and expect ſome help from. *Catesby* was ſenſible that he had given *Thomas Bates*, a Servant of his that attended him, too great cauſe of Suſpicion, and upon Examination found him to have obſerved ſomewhat from his Proceedings, and therefore invited him into the Undertaking; but he ſomewhat ſurprized at the horror of it, began to decline it, till his Maſter refer'd him for Advice to *Teſmond*, unto whom imparting it in Confeſſion, the ſubtile Prieſt both invited him to it as a work of great merit, and obliged him to Secrecy and Fidelity therein. In *Michaelmas* Term they met again, and then they thought fit to provide a Store-Houſe for the Timber, which they ſhould uſe in the Mine, that they intended to make, and for the Powder and other Materials, from whence they might fetch it as Occaſion ſerved. And ſuch a place they found and took at *Lambeth*. Then were *Robert Keyes*, and *Chriſtopher Wright*, Gentlemen, and *Ambroſe Rookwood*, and *John Grant*, and *Robert Winter*, Eſquires, at ſeveral times admitted into the Number. *December* 11th, they began to work, but what from the difficulty of the work (the Wall that they were to make their way

Others taken in to be Confederates.

way through, being 3 Ells thick) what from their want of skill in it, and of being uſed to ſuch kind of Labour, they found that their time would be too ſhort for their Enterprize, and they began to deſpair of ſucceſs in it. But when under this Irreſolution and Diſcouragement, their hopes were revived by two unexpected Accidents. For firſt the Parliament was Adjourned to the 5th of *October* following, by which means they ſhould have time before them. And then they had an opportunity of hiring a Vault, much more for their turn than the Mine which they had ſo long employed themſelves in. This they came to the knowledg of upon this Occaſion; As they were one day buſie at their Work, they were not a little frighted by an unuſual noiſe on the other ſide of the Wall, which made them think that they were betrayed, and to betake themſelves to their Weapons with a reſolution of dying upon the place. But *Fawkes*, who was ſent out to make Diſcovery, returns with Joy to tell them, That it was only the removing of Coals that were laid in the adjoyning Vault or Cellar, which was now to be let. This they preſently hire, thither they brought their Stores. By this means they gained a double advantage, firſt, that their buſineſs vvas brought into a leſs room, which was more for their eaſe and ſafety; and then that they were rid of their hard, and but upon ſuch a cauſe, to them intolerable Labour; for this was a Mine as it were, already, and what was ſo well ſcituated by its being almoſt under the Royal Throne, that they could not have choſe any thing more commodious. And now they are at leiſure not ſo much to think of this Deſign (for that was brought to its head, and what they reckoned themſelves ſure of) as how to carry on the other part of it.

The Vault hired and ſtored.

The King and Prince *Henry*, they did not doubt would fall into this common calamity; but the Duke, being but four years old, they thought would be absent; of him therfore *Percy* took the charg, and said, He would attend about the Chamber till the blow was given, and then in a trice convey him away, with the help of two or three that should be ready on horse-back; which they might the more easily do, as many of the Court would be that day upon attendance and perish with the rest, and the others would by it be put into Confusion, and unprovided to make any Opposition. As for the Lady *Elizabeth*, she might be reserved, and her name made use of by them in stilling and composing the minds of the people, and for making good whatever they thought fit to use her Authority in; And her they might the more easily gain into their hands, as she was now at the Lord *Harrington's* at *Comb-Abby* in *Warwickshire*, whereabouts they might securely be under the pretence of an Hunting-match, and with the first news there surprize her.

Their Intelligence abroad.

In the mean time was care taken to give notice to those abroad whom they might trust; and in *March* 1605, is *Fawks* sent over to Sr. *William Stanly*, and *Hugh Owen*; and with Letters from *Garnet* to *Baldwin* the Legier Jesuit in *Flunders*. Sr. *William* was absent; but having first administred the Oath of Secrecy, to *Owen*, he acquaints him with the Plot, who promised to give his utmost assistance; and to dispose Sir *William* to it (whom he thought it not fit for the present to communicate it to, for fear he might be discovered and fail in a design, that he was then about in the Court of *England*.)

To the 20 Barrels of Powder laid in at first; they added in *July* 20 more with Barrs of Iron, and massie Stones

Stones, and at the laſt made up the Number Thirty Six; over which they laid a Thouſand Billets, and Five-hundred Faggots. And at a Meeting at the *Bath*, of *Percy* and *Catesby*, it was agreed that *Catesby* ſhould take in whom he thought fit; who thereupon engaged Sir *Everard Digby*, that promiſed to advance 1500 *l.* towards it; and Mr. *Francis Treſham*, that gave him aſſurance of 2000 *l.*

All things thus being in a readineſs, the Parliament was again Prorogued till the Fift of *November*; upon which they retired, with a promiſe of meeting about Ten days before. At which time *Catesby*, being informed by *Winter* at a Houſe by *Enfield* Chaſe, called *White-Webbs*, That the Prince was not likely to be preſent with the King, there was another Plot laid to ſurprize him, if it ſhould ſo happen. The Parliament Prorogued.

The time drew very near, and they that had paſt ſo long without diſcovery, ſeem'd now to be above the fear of it. All things had ſo happily concurred to further their deſign, and they had all approved themſelves to be ſo truſty in it, that they were more concerned how to manage the ſucceſs than to fear it. But God that had a reſerve of favour for us, and that doth delight in catching the wiſe in their own craftineſs, ſuffered them to proceed thus far in it, that the detection and overthrow of it might appear to be more from his than Man's Providence. When *Catesby* firſt thought of this, the great difficulty with him was about the lawfulneſs of deſtroying the innocent with the guilty. For the blow would know no difference betwixt a Catholick and a Heretick, betwixt a Friend or Foe. When the Nobles and the Commons, thoſe that were a part of

that

that Aſſembly, and thoſe that came to be Auditors and Spectators only; thoſe that were within, and thoſe that were without the Houſe; when no leſs than Thirty thouſand muſt periſh at once by it (as *Barclay* ſaith it was computed) it muſt needs be that many whom they wiſhed well to; and that alſo (if they knew it) would wiſh well to their cauſe, muſt be part of the Sacrifice. What an havock would Thirty-ſix Barrels, or Nine or Ten-thouſand Pound of Powder make, loaded thus with Bars of Iron, maſſie Stones, and great pieces of Timber? how would it tear the Foundations of the ſtrongeſt Buildings, throw down all the Tops of the neighbouring Houſes, and bury all within the ruins of both? What would become of their Friends and Allies, thoſe that they had received much kindneſs from, and others who neither did nor knew how to do them an injury? How many Families muſt they undo, by the loſs of Relations, Eſtates, and Records which were there depoſited? This and much more was what they well foreſaw, and what they could not foreſee without ſome kind of horror, if they had but one ſpark of humanity left untouched by their unnatural Religion. What muſt therefore be done; to whom ſhould he reſort for Counſel, but to his faſt Friend Father *Garnet*, to him he opens the Caſe (as far as it was fit, and as far as the other was willing to know of it) after this manner.

Catesby's Caſe of Conſcience.

"Whether for the good and Promotion of the Catho-
"lick cauſe (the neceſſity of time and occaſion ſo requir-
"ing) it be lawful or not, amongſt many Nocents, to de-
"ſtroy and take away ſome Innocents alſo?

"To which the Jeſuit replies, That if the advantage

"was

"was greater on the side of the Catholicks by the de-"struction of the Innocent with the Nocent, than by the "preservation of both, it was doubtless lawful; further "explaining himself by this comparison. "That, if at the "taking of a Town possessed by the Enemy, there hap-"pen to be some Friends, they must undergo the Fortune "of War, and the General and Common destruction "of the Enemy.

With this answer *Catesby* was satisfied, and with this he satisfied others, telling them, That it was the resolution of the Case given by the Provincial.

A Letter sent to the Lord *Monteagle.*

But, yet though this did thus compose their Minds, and what they were generally satisfied with, there wanted not one that having a kindness for the Lord *Monteagle*, eldest Son to the Lord *Morley*, sent this Note to him, by the hands of one of his Foot-boys that was abroad in the Evening of the Saturday was Sennight, before the appointed time for the meeting of the Parliament.

My Lord,

Out of the love I bear to some of your Friends, I have a care of your preservation. Therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your Attendance at this Parliament. For God and Man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this Advertisement, but retire your self into your Countrey, where you may expect the Event in safety: For though there be no appearance of any stir; yet I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurt them. This Counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you

good,

good, and can do you no harm: For the danger is past as soon as you shall have burned this Letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it. To whose Holy protection I commend you.

The Letter was without Date or Subscription, and the hand in which it was writen was hardly legible, and the contents of it so perplexed, that the Lord knew as little what to make of it, as whence it came. But yet however since it respected more than himself he thought not fit to conceal it, and presently repaired to *Whitehall*, and put it into the hands of the Earl of *Salisbury* Principal Secretary of State. The Earl commended the Lord for his Care and Fidelity; and told him, That though there seemed to be little in it, yet because of the reports that he had received from abroad, that the *Papists* this Session of Parliament would be very busie and insolent in their demands for Toleration upon some prospect they had of being in a condition to command it; and also that because nothing that concerned the safety of His Majesty and Peace of his Government ought to be slighted, he would advise with others of his Majestie's Council about it. Accordingly he shewed it to the Lord Chamberlain, (to whom it particularly belonged to visit all places, where his Majesty either lived, or to which he did resort) to the Lord High-Admiral, the Earls of *Worcester* and *Northampton*; who all were of the same mind with the Secretary, and concluded it fit to deliver it to the King at his return from *Royston*, when he came from hunting, and from whence he was expected the *Thursday* following.

On

This was not kept so secret, but that *Thomas Winter* had some intelligence of it, the next day; and on Monday went to *Enfield*, to acquaint *Catesby* with it; but he found him resolved to see further, and to wait *Percy*'s arrival, whom he then expected.

The Letter presented to the King.

On the next Day after the King's Return, the Earl presented him with the Letter, and told him how it came to his Hand. After the reading of it, the King made a pause, and then reading it again, said, that there seemed somewhat in it extraordinary, and what was by no means to be neglected. The Earl replied, that it seemed to him to be written by a Fool, or a Mad-man; for who else could be guilty of saying, *The Danger is past as soon as you have burn'd the Letter?* for what Danger could there be in that, which the burning of the Letter would put an end to? But the King considering the smartness of the Stile, and withal what was said before, *That they should receive a terrible Blow, and yet should not see who hurt them*, did conclude, as he was walking and musing in the Gallery, that the Danger must be sudden, and like the blowing up by Gunpowder; for what else could the Parliament be in danger of? or what Rebellion and Insurrection could there be, and yet there be no appearance of Stir therein? or how could they be otherwise hurt, and not see who hurt them? And as for the Phrase which the Secretary particularly offered at, he said, to him it seemed to be of a quite different signification, and that thereby was to be understood the Suddenness and Quickness of it, which should as soon or as quickly be done, as that Paper might be burnt. Doubtless this was the sence of it, and what the Person that wrote it did intend, who was no Fool, as appears by the other parts of the Letter; and yet the Discovery of it was extraordinary, being against the common Construction, and far from what any other did apprehend by it; and therefore it is what even some of the adverse Party have looked upon as God's Inspiration. So

John Barclay entitles his little Book that he wrote about it, *Series patefacti divinitus Parricidii*, &c. And *Spondanus*, Ann. 1605. §. 8. ſaith of the King, that *divinitus evaſit*.

The Secretary admired the King's great Sagacity; and tho he ſeemed to differ from him whilſt in his Preſence, yet preſently conferred with the Lords about it, and on Saturday it was reſolved, that the Houſes and Rooms thereabouts ſhould be ſearched. The Care of this was committed to the Lord Chamberlain. who was appointed on Monday to make the Search: which he accordingly did that Evening, being accompanied with the Lord *Monteagle*, that was very deſirous of ſeeing the Event. Having view'd this Houſe, they found in a Cellar under Ground great Store of Billets, Faggots, and Coal, brought thither (as Mr. *Whinyard* told them) for the uſe of Mr. *Percy*, and ſpied *Fawks* ſtanding there in a Corner, who ſaid that he was Mr. *Percy*'s Servant, and left there by him for the keeping of his Houſe. Upon the naming of *Percy*, the Lord *Monteagle* told the Chamberlain, that he now vehemently ſuſpected Mr. *Percy* to be the Author of that Letter, both from his Inclination to the Romiſh Religion, and the Intimacy that had been betwixt them. Though this was a miſtake, it being neither *Percy* nor *Treſham* (as Biſhop *Goodman* in his Anſwer to Sir *Anth. Weldon*'s Court of King *James*, doth conjecture.) Yet that Circumſtance, with what they had already diſcovered, ſo much encreaſed the Suſpicion, that when all was reported by the Lord Chamberlain to the King, in the preſence of the Lord Admiral, Lord Treaſurer, the Earls of *Worceſter*, *Northampton*, and *Salisbury*, it was reſolved, that further Search ſhould be made, what was under that great Pile of Fewel, in ſuch a Houſe where *Percy* had ſo little occaſion to reſide. But what for avoiding the Report of too much Credulity, and Eaſineſs to receive Informations of that kind; what from the care of doing any thing that might redound to the blemiſh of the Earl of *Northumberland*, whoſe near Rela-

The Houſe ordered to be ſearched.

Relation, and great Confident this *Thomas Percy* was; it was resolved to do it under the pretence of making Inquisition for some of the Kings Hangings, that were stollen out of *Whinyard*'s Custody. Sir *Thomas Knevet*, one of the King's Privy-Chamber, was employed in it, being a Person in publick Office, as a Justice of Peace, and of great Prudence. At midnight he repaired thither, and found *Fawks* standing at the Door, booted and spurr'd, whom he presently apprehended. Then proceeding, he first lighted upon one of the smaller, and after discovered the rest of the Barrels. Upon which, causing *Fawks* to be searched, he found about him three Matches, a Tinderbox, and a dark Lanthorn.

Fawkes *his Behaviour upon his Apprehension.*

Being thus taken in the Fact, he both confessed and defended it, adding, *That if he had happened to be within the House, as he was without, he would by putting Fire to the Train, have put an end to their Enquiry.* Sir *Thomas* having had such happy Success, immediately returns with Joy to the Palace, and acquaints the Lord Chamberlain, and Earl of *Salisbury* with it, who went to the King's Bedchamber, and with as much hast as joy the Chamberlain told the King, that all was discovered, and the Traitor in safe Custody. This was about four of the Clock in the Morning. Assoon as the Council met, (who were immediately sent for) the Prisoner was taken into Examination, and to the amazement of all, appeared no more dash'd by their Presence, or the Questions put to him, or the Condition he was in, than if he had been altogether innocent, declaring, *That he was not at all sorry for what he had design'd, but only that he fail'd in the execution of it; and that the Devil, and not God, was the Discoverer.* So pertinacious and resolute was he, that he would not own any Accomplices, but that he alone was the Contriver, and should have been the sole Executor of it, and that he was induced to this for Conscience sake, as the King (being an Heretick) was not his lawful Sovereign, but an Usurper. Thus stout and resolute did he continue,

till he was brought to the Tower, and ſhewed the Rack, upon the ſight of which he began to relent, and after ſome days examination diſcloſed the whole.

The News of this Diſcovery flew like Lightning; it was what rejoiced the Heart of every good Subject, and daunted that of the Rebels, and therefore thoſe of them that were in Town no ſooner heard of it, but they betook themſelves to Flight.

Catesby was gone the Night before towards the place appointed for the Rendezvous; not a little perplexed from the intimation he had that their Plot was diſcovered. And *Percy* ſet forward at 4 of the Clock in the Morning, much about the time that the Diſcovery was made publick. *Thomas Winter* and the 2 *Wrights* that ſtaid behind, ſtaid to hear the certainty of their Defeat and Diſappointment, and ſo made all the haſte they could to overtake and meet their Confederates; that they might conſult what was to be done in ſo great an Exigence.

In the mean time there was nothing wanting on their part, who were to contribute their endeavours in the Country. Sir *Everard Digby* came to *Dunchurch* according to appointment, and ſo confident were they of ſucceſs above, that one *Grant* a Gentleman in thoſe parts, on Monday Night, much about the time that *Fawkes* was apprehended with other of his Aſſociates, broke open the Stables of one *Benock*, a Rider of great Horſes, and took away all that he found, for their own Service, and with them they repaired to the reſt. But all their hopes were ſoon blaſted, by the ſad News which they quickly received from thoſe that had made their eſcape. Deſperation begets Reſolution; and now they are loſt as well as their Cauſe, if they do not ſpeedily find out a Remedy; and therefore with all the haſte they could, they diſpatched ſome to call in others to their Aſſiſtance, and to repreſent to them the greatneſs of the danger, that they, and their Religion is in, unleſs they appear in its defence. This *Teſmond* (*alias Greenwel*) the Jeſuit, did particularly

larly concern himself in, exhorting all to take up Arms, and to unite their Forces, and for this purpose rode as far as *Lancashire*. This riding to and fro made a noise in the Countrey and awakened the People; the loss of *Benock's* Horses came quickly to the Ears of some of those Gentlemen that had put them into his Hands to manage and fit them for their Service. And for one reason or another the Country was presently up in Arms, and upon pursuit of them.

The Traitors pursued and taken.

Some of them were taken Prisoners, and others of them pursued by Sir *Richard Verney*, Sheriff of *Warwick-shire*, to the borders of that County. But they kept on their course, till they came to *Holbeach* in *Stafford-shire*, the House of *Stephen Littleton*; thither Sir *Richard Welsh* Sheriff of *Worcester-shire* followed them, and by his Trumpeters commanded them in the Kings Name to surrender, assuring them that upon their so doing he would intercede with the King for them, and doubted not to obtain their Pardon. But they that were conscious to themselves of more than he understood (for the News had not yet spread so far, nor the King's Proclamations, though sent after them, had not yet overtaken them) bid him Defiance, and sent him word that he must have a greater Force, than what he had then the command of, to reduce them. But whilst the one was preparing for the Assault, and the other for their Defence, God himself seemed to deside the Quarrel: for by the same means which they contrived to destroy others, they themselves came to suffer; for having laid some Powder to dry before the Fire, a Coal upon the mending of it, flew into the Pan, and set fire to the rest, thereby not only blowing up part of the Roof, and a Bag or Powder of 17 or 18 pound, that they underset the Pan with, which was carried unfired into the Court, but so wounded *Catesby*, *Rookwood*, *Grant*, and several of the Conspirators, that they were unable to make any further Defence. By this time Fire was set to the House, and their case grew so desparate, that they

opened

opened the Doors, and expoſed themſelves to the Weapons and Fury of the People. The three principal of them, *viz. Catesby*, *Percy*, and *Thomas Winter*, joined Back to Back, and the two former of them were mortally wounded with one Shot, by one *Heming* a Train-Souldier, who had a Penſion for it during his Life. *Catesby* dying upon the Spot, and *Percy* if not then ſlain, yet not out-living him above two or three days. The two *Wrights* were ſlain at the ſame time; *Digby*, *Rookwood*, *Thomas Winter*, *Grant*, and *Bates* were taken Priſoners, and ſent up to *London*. *Robert Winter* and *Stephen Littleton* concealed themſelves in the Woods, and other places for ſome weeks, but were afterward taken and committed to the *Tower*. *Treſham* continued in *London*, and ſeemed ready to find out the Traitors, and by that means thought at firſt to remain undiſcovered; but being ſuſpected, he was afterwards ſearched for, and apprehended, and ſent to the ſame place. Thus ſuddenly was that Deſign diſcovered which had bin ſo long concealed; thus ſuddenly was it broken, which they had bin ſome years in contriving, therein verifying that of the Pſalmiſt, *The ungodly are ſunk down into the Pit that they made: in the Net which they hid, is their own Foot taken. The Lord is known by the Judgment which he executeth, the wicked is ſnared in the work of his own Hands.*

The Examination of the Priſoners.

Theſe Perſons thus apprehended, were carefully examined, (in the doing of which were ſpent 23 days) and from their ſeveral Confeſſions was drawn ſufficient matter not only for ther own Condemnation, but alſo for detection of others.

The Jeſuites in the Conſpiracy.

The moſt conſiderable of which were *Garnet* the Provincial of the Jeſuits, *Hall*, *Greenwell Gerard* and *Hamond*, Prieſts of the ſame Order. The reſpect that *Garnet* had to the reputation of their Society, and his own Safety, had made him to act with ſo great caution, that he would willingly converſe with none about this matter, but thoſe that

that were of his own Order; or *Catesby* his truſty Friend. And therefore much of the evidence againſt him fell with that Conſpirator. But yet there appeared ſuch preſumptions by the acknowledgment of the reſt that were taken, and Letters that were found, that there was a Proclamation iſſued out for the apprehenſion of him and his Brethren, declaring it Treaſon for any to harbour and conceal them. *Garnet* when the time drew near, and all things were ripe for their Deſign, took a Journey to *Coughton* in *Warwick-ſhire*, not far from the place of general Rendezvous, where he preached a Sermom, and in which he exhorted his Auditors to pray for the ſucceſs of a great Action, to be undertaken in the behalf of the Catholicks, at the beginning of the Parliament, as is acknowledged by his Apologiſt, and was confeſſed by *Hall*, alias *Oldcorn*. Whilſt at that place he received a Letter *November* 6. from *Catesby*, to let him know that their Deſign had miſcarried, and to deſire him that he would uſe his intereſt in ſtirring up the Catholicks in *Wales* to Arm and Defend themſelves. But the wary Jeſuit provided for his own Safety, and ſending *Greenwel* to them for their Aſſiſtance and Direction, he himſelf retreated to *Hall* at Mr. *Habinton's* Houſe, at *Hinlip* in *Worceſter-ſhire*, where *Hall* had found a ſafe retreat for ſixteen years together, as an Author of theirs informs us. This was a place of great reception, and as much of the Plot was there hatch'd, ſo it was from thence that it came to be prevented. For Mrs. *Habington* was Siſter to the Lord *Monteagle*, and ſo being ſolicitous for her Brother, whom ſhe had reaſon to believe would then be at the Parliament, ſhe writ the aboveſaid Letter to him, to give him ſo much notice of the danger as might warn him to provide for his own Safety, but not ſo much (as ſhe apprehended) as might diſcover it. From this Relation betwixt the two Families, it was that Mr. *Habington* alone of all the Conſpirators, after Sentence, had his Life given

Eudem. Joannis Apologia pro Garneto. page. 265.

Hen. Mori *Hiſtoria miſſionis Anglicanæ*. pag. 333.

given him. This account Mr. *Habington* himſelf (who was alive about 1645) gave to a worthy Perſon ſtill in being. There they lay concealed for ſome time, but at the laſt were diſcovered to be in that place by *Littleton*, one of the Conſpirators, as the ſame Author relates, *pag.* 314. Who further ſaith, that though the help of Carpenters and Bricklayers were uſed, yet they were many days before they could find them out; being in a Vault, the way to which was in an upper-room through the half-pace before the Hearth, whoſe Wooden border was made like a Trap-Door, to pluck up and down, and then the Bricks were laid in their Courſes and Order again, as we are told by an Author of our own.

Fowlis *Roman Treaſons.* pag. 698.

From whence theſe Authors had this account of the place of their concealment I know not, but that they are miſtaken, I am very well aſſured from the aforeſaid Relator, to whom Mr. *Habington* gave this enſuing Relation, *viz.* That for ſome time after the Plot was diſcovered, and others apprehended, there was no notice taken of him, ſo that he begun to think himſelf ſecure. But one night on the ſudden his Houſe was beſet, and he called for by the Sheriff, who as ſoon as he came down, told him that he was come by ſpecial Order of Council to ſearch his Houſe. Mr. *Habington* told him that he was freely welcome, and cauſed Lights immediately to be brought. They went from Room to Room, and about eleven of the Clock at noon had finiſhed, and found nothing. The Sheriff then being come into the Parlor, ſaid to Mr. *Habinton*, Couſin, I am heartily glad that I am diſappointed; and ſo they drunk a glaſs of Wine, and were taking leave, Mr. *Habington* accompanying the Sheriff to the Door. But *Francis Dingly* of *Charlton*, Captain of the County-Horſe, ſtaying a little behind, ſtruck his hand againſt the Wainſcot over the Chimney, and finding it to be hollow called the company in, and forthwith breaking it down, found there what they ſearched for.

Hence

Hence they were brought to *London*, and committed to the Tower.

On *January* 27. the other Priſoners were brought to their Trial at *Guild-Hall*. The Perſons arrigned were *Robert Winter* Eſq; *Thomas Winter* Gentleman, *Guy Faux* Gentleman, *John Grant* Eſq; *Ambroſe Rookwood* Eſq; *Robert Keyes* Gentleman, and *Thomas Bates*, Servant to *Catesby*. By another Indictment was arraigned Sir *Everard Digby*. The Arraignment of the Traitors.

They generally acknowledged the Fact, and ſpake little in their own Vindication. *Rookwood* pleaded, *That it was the entire Affection he had for Mr.* Catesby *which drew him in; and he hoped, as it was his firſt Fact, ſome Mercy would be ſhewed him.* Sir *Everard* ſaid the ſame with reſpect to *Catesby*, and added, *That he had undertaken it for the Zeal which he had to the Catholick Religion, which he was ready to ſacrifice all for; and to prevent thoſe Calamities which he underſtood that the Parliament was prepared to bring upon them of his Perſwaſion. Keys* ſaid, *That his Fortunes were ſunk, and as good now as at another time, and for this Cauſe rather than another. Thomas Winter* deſired *that he might be hanged both for his Brother and himſelf. Bates* and *Robert Winter* craved mercy. *John Grant* was a good while mute, yet after ſaid, *he was guilty of a Conſpiracy intended, but never effected.*

They ſeemed reſolved to vindicate the Jeſuits, or at leaſt to ſay nothing againſt them; whether it were that they were not allowed to diſcourſe of the Plot with any but ſuch and ſuch particular Perſons, or whether it were that they thought it to be highly meritorious; and this laſt ſeems to be not unlikely. When *Treſham* not above three hours before his Death, in the Tower, did declare upon his Salvation, that he had not ſeen *Garnet* in ſixteen years before; whereas it appeared, both by the Confeſſion of *Garnet*, and Mrs. *Ann Vaux*, *Garnet*'s Boſom-Friend, that they had been frequently together the two laſt years paſt. And Sir *Everard Digby* when asked by the Lord Chief Juſtice, *if he had taken the Sacrament* Sir *Everard*'s Papers. *p.* 10.

ment to conceal the Plot as others did; replied that he had not, becauſe, ſaith he, *I would avoid the queſtion at whoſe hands it were.*

Their Execution. On the *Thurſday* following, Sir *Everard Digby*, *Robert Winter*, *John Grant*, and *Bates*, were according to Judgement, Drawn, Hang'd and Quarter'd, at the *Weſt* end of St. *Paul's* Church. And on the *Friday*, the other four, *viz. Thomas Winter*, *Keyes*, *Rookwood*, and *Fawkes* were executed in the Palace-Yard at *Weſtminſter*.

Garnet's Examination. Now were *Garnet* and *Hall* had in Examination, and that ſeveral times from the thirteenth of *February*, to *March* the twenty ſixth. In all which *Garnet* ſhewed by the wilineſs of his Anſwers, and the Confidence he maintained them with, that he deſerved the place of Provincial of the Jeſuits (which he held for twenty two years) being ſo well verſed in all the Practices of his Society, that few could exceed him.

The King from the firſt was reſolved to forbear the ſeverity of the Rack, much practiſed in other Countries, in the examination of notorious and perverſe Criminals. We indeed are told by a late confident Author of their own, that *Garnet* was kept waking ſix Days and Nights together to bring him by that new kind of Torment (as he calls it) to a Confeſſion of his Crime; and that *Hall* was put to extream Torture for fifteen hours ſpace together in the Tower, for the ſame reaſon. But a greater than he, one of their own Perſwaſion, doth aſſure us, that the King to avoid Calumny, did purpoſely forbear any thing of that kind of Rigour, and *Garnet* himſelf did publickly own at his Trial, that he had been uſed whilſt in Priſon with great lenity. We know not what effect the Rack might have had upon him, for that was a way of Trial he had not been exerciſed in; but that Courſe which they took, by frequent and croſs examinations, by Expoſtulations and Arguments, he was ſo much a Maſter of, that in all the twenty three days ſpent in it, they would have gained but little Information, had they not had ſome greater advantage. Had he been alone, and could not have been confronted by others,

Hiſtoria miſſionis Anglican p. 315. P. 334.

Thuanus Ann. 1606.

others, he had been much more ſecure, and they more at a loſs. And therefore to prevent any miſ-underſtanding betwixt him and others in cuſtody, that their Anſwers might not be inconſiſtent or repugnant, he writes both to *Hall* and Mrs. *Vaux*, to let them know after what manner he thought to excuſe or defend himſelf, and what Replies to make to ſome particular Enquiries; as if he ſhould be charged with his Prayer for the good Succeſs of a great Action, *&c.* he would ſay, It was for the prevention of thoſe ſevere Laws, which thoſe of their Church expected would be made againſt them by that Parliament. But it hapned, that theſe Letters that were writ by him, came into other hands than thoſe he intended them for, and did him a worſe Injury than any Account that his ſworn Friends could have likely given of the ſame Actions, though diſagreeing with his. And indeed herein his Adverſaries did outwit him, and worſted him at his own Weapons. For when they perceived that he obſtinately perſiſted in the defence of his Innocency, they took another Courſe to find him out. A Perſon was employed as a Keeper, that ſhould profeſs himſelf to be a Roman Catholick, and that ſhould take a great liberty to complain of the Kings ſeverity, and of the Sufferings their Party were made to undergo. By theſe and the like crafty Inſinuations he grew to be a Familiar of *Garnet*'s, and at laſt was entruſted by him with a Letter to one, and to another. Which yet he did not ſo much venture upon, but that he wrote ſparingly to one, and to the other nothing in appearance but what any one might ſee, filling up the void places with other more ſecret Matters, written indeed, but written with the Juice of a Lemon. By this means they found out, that it was not ſo much his Innocency, as the want of Proof, that made him ſo confident. By this they came to underſtand, that *Greenwel* and he had conferred together about the Plot.

There was alſo another Calamity that befell him by the ſame Contrivance; for now thinking himſelf ſure of his

Keeper, he let him know what a great desire he had of conferring with *Hall*. The Decoy told him, that he would endeavour to find out a way for it. This was done, and they had that freedom; but at the same time there were placed within hearing Mr. *Fauset* and Mr. *Lockerson*, two Persons of such known Credit, that *Garnet* at his Trial had nothing to object against them, who took notice of what was said, and made it known to the Council. The next day Commissioners came to examine them, and in Discourse charged them severally with those things that passed betwixt them the day before. This *Hall* did acknowledge, being convinced by the Particulars that they produced; but *Garnet*, though desired not to equivocate, did deny it upon his soul, and the word of a Priest, and with such reiterated Protestations, detestable Execrations, as the Earl of *Salisbury* then present, said, *It wounded their hearts to hear him.* And when they told him that *Hall* had confessed, he said, *Let him accuse himself falsly if he will, I will not be guilty of that folly.* But at the last, when he perceived that the Evidence was not to be gainsaid, begged their Pardon with no little Confusion, and owned the Particulars they charged him with: and a little to save his Reputation, told them, That as he denied all, because he knew none but *Greenwel* could accuse him; so he did deny what he knew to be true, by the help of Equivocation.

Now they had gained good Evidence against him, his Letters first, then his Discourse with *Hall*; and lastly, his own Confession, were a sufficient Ground for them to proceed and try him upon. And that they began to do two days after, *viz.* upon *Friday*, *March* 28.

Garnet's Trial.

The great thing charged upon him was, That he was privy to this Conspiracy, that he held a Correspondence with *Cutesby*, and by him and *Greenwel* with the rest. And the chief Part of his Defence was, "That what he did know of "it was in Confession, and what was told him in that way he

" he was bound to conceal, notwithstanding any Mischief " that might follow it; he might disswade Persons from it, " but whether they would be perswaded by him or not, he " was obliged not to divulge it.

After a long time spent in his Tryal, there was but little taken by the Jury to give in their Verdict, which was, that he was guilty of the Treason; and accordingly he received Sentence, and was executed the third of *May* following, at the West-end of St. *Pauls* Church-yard. His Execution.

This is the Man whom the Jesuits extol to the Clouds, and that is put into the Catalogue of their Martyrs, as it is to be found at the end of *Alegambe's Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu*. This Person, who was a perfect Master of the Art of Dissimulation, that could by Equivocation swear to what he knew to be false, is what one of them bestows this Character upon, That there was in him *Morum Simplicitas, & Candor animi minime suspicacis*. This Man who had not the Heart to die, and who at the time of his Execution was so divided betwixt the hopes of a Pardon, and the fear of Death, that he could not attend to his own Devotions, but one while cast his Eyes this way, and another that; now at his Prayers, and anon breaking off from them to answer to that discourse which he overheard. This Man, I say, is said by *Alegambe* to go to his Death *interritus & exporrecta fronte obtestans*, &c. without any fear, and protesting that he exceedingly rejoyced that he was now to suffer that Death which would be an entrance to an Immortal Life. *Hist. Missionum Angl.* p. 311. 2.

The Conclusion of all which is, that no Jesuit can be a Traitor, and none suffer for Treason but he must be a Martyr.

The Case of *Hall* was much the same with that of *Garnet*; he did confess, and it was also proved that they were both together at *Coughton*, and they were both found together afterwards. It appeared that he had afterward defended the Treason to *Humphrey Littleton*. The Excuses, the Discourse, the Confessions, were much one and the same, but only that *Garnet* was the more resolved, and the more obstinate of the two. The Tryal and Execution of *Hall*, &c.

two. Now becauſe as this Treaſon was hatched, and to be executed in the main at *London*, ſo becauſe part of it was alſo to have been done in the Countrey, and the chief of the Conſpirators were there taken, therefore ſix of them were ſent to *Worceſter*, and there tryed before Sir *David Williams*, one of the Juſtices of the *Kings-Bench*, and executed *April* 7. two and two together; Firſt *Humphrey Littleton* and *John Winter*, and then this *Hall* with three others. Thither, I ſay, he was carried with them for that reaſon, and not becauſe his Adverſaries were aſhamed to have his Cauſe heard at *London*, as a bold Author of theirs would have it.

Eudamon-Joannis Apologia pro *Garnetto*, pag. 272.

It is no wonder to find theſe Men ſo concerned to clear themſelves of it, when all the World is againſt them; though this is no more to be done, than to prove that one that kills a King is a good Subject, and one that ſtirs up his Subjects in Rebellion againſt him, is a Friend to him.

Theſe were the Perſons that were taken, and ſuffered for this bloody Treaſon: Some of the reſt eſcaped, the Jeſuits *Greenwel* and *Everard* to *Rome*, when the former was made a Confeſſor in St. *Peters* at *Rome*, and the latter was preferr'd to be the Popes Pœnitentiary: And others to other Parts; of which one, when *Dominicus Vicus*, Governor of *Calice*, *aſſured them of his Kings Favour, and though they loſt their own Country, they might be received there*, replied, *The loſs of their Countrey was the leaſt part of their grief; but their ſorrow was, that they could not bring ſo brave a Deſign to perfection.* At which the Governor could hardly forbear caſting him into the Sea, as *Thuanus* relates from *Vicus* his own Mouth. Others there were whom the Government had a great ſuſpicion of, as *Henry* Lord *Mordant*, and *Edward* Lord *Stanton*, who not appearing upon the Summons to the Parliament, were ſuppoſed to abſent themſelves from ſome intelligence that they received, and were fined in the *Star-Chamber*, and to be impriſoned during the Kings Pleaſure. The like Sentence did *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland* undergo, for having admitted *Thomas Percy* his Kinſman to be a Gentleman-Penſioner,

ner, without adminiſtring to him the Oath of Supremacy, when he knew him to be a Recuſant.

This was the end of that Plot, and of the Perſons chiefly concerned in it. And it would be happy if they had left none of their Principles or Temper behind them, a Generation whom no Favour will oblige, nor Kindneſs retain: whom nothing but Supremacy will content, and the moſt abſolute Authority can gratifie. Whom nothing can ſecure againſt, but a ſufficient Power, or great Induſtry, or conſtant Watchfulneſs, and ſcarcely all. And therefore it's fit that not only as a branch of our Thankfulneſs to God, but alſo as a caution to our ſelves, that this Deliverance ſhould be celebrated, and the Memory of it perpetuated. I ſhall end with what is ſaid by a great * Perſon of our own, ſome years ſince.

* Biſhop *Sanderſons* Sermons *l.* 1. *ad populum Serm.* 5. *pag.* 242.

Two great Deliverances in the memory of many of us hath God in his ſingular Mercy wrought for us of this Nation, ſuch as I think, take both together, no Chriſtian Age or Land can parallel. One formerly from a forreign Invaſion; another ſince that of a helliſh Conſpiracy at home. Both ſuch as we would have all thought, when they were done, ſhould never be forgotten. And yet, as if this Land were term'd oblivious, the Land where all things are forgotten, how doth the memory of them fade away, and they by little and little grow into forgetfulneſs? We have lived to ſee 88 *almoſt forgotten, (God be bleſſed who hath graciouſly prevented what we feared therein) God grant that we nor ours ever live to ſee* November *the* 5th *forgotten, or the Solemnity of it ſilenced.*

FINIS.

The Authors from whence this Narrative hath been Collected, Are,

Thuanus.

Jo. Barclaii, Conspiratio Anglicana.

Proceedings against the Traitors, *Printed* 1606.

Historia Missionis Anglicanæ, Societatis Iesu Collectore Henrico Moro, Printed at St. *Omers* 1660.

Andreæ Eudæmon Joannis Apologia pro Garnetto.

Rob. Abboti Antilogia adversus Apologiam Andreæ Eudæmon Joannis.

Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Iesu.

Sir *Everard Digby's* Papers, printed this Year at the end of the Proceedings.

A VINDICATION OF THE HISTORY OF THE Gunpowder-Treason.

And of the Proceedings and Matters relating thereunto, from the Exceptions which have been made against it, And more especially of late years by the Author of the *Catholick Apologie*, and Others.

To which is added,

A PARALLEL betwixt That and the Present Popish Plot.

LONDON,
Printed by *J. D.* for *Richard Chiswell*, at the Rose and Crown in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard, 1681.

Errata's *in the Hiſtory of the Gunpowder-Treaſon.*

PAge 8. l. *ult.* for 20 read 16. After p. 20, falſe paged. P. 28. l. 23. r. *Catesby.* P. 30. l. 19. f. *Everard*, r. *Gerard*; f. *when*, r. *where.* P. 31. l. 12. expunge *that.*

In the Vindication.

Page 17. lin. 4. read *reſerve.* P. 32. Marg. l. 2. r. 9. P. 36. Marg. l. 14. r. 313. P. 40. Marg. f. *ibid.* r. *Antilog.* p. 146. P. 47. Marg. dele *l. ult.* P. 48. Marg. dele *l.* 9. P. 54. l. 1. r. *Wykes.* P. 55. l. 18. r. *Conjurationis.* P. 57. l. *ult.* f. *yet* r. *that.* Marg. dele *Paper* 418. P. 60. Marg. f. *ibid.* r. *Proceed.* P. 61. Marg. l. 8. r. 248; P. 63. l. 20. r. 338.

To the Reader.

IN *compiling the* History of the Gunpowder-Treason, *published two Years since, I had a particular respect to Brevity and Truth, that I might neither burthen nor abuse the Reader. How far I attained the former, the Book it self doth shew; and that I might not mistake in the latter, I did with good heed and diligence consult not only the Histories foreign and domestick, but also all other Books which I could meet with, written* pro *and* con *upon that subject. But all this while I had neither seen nor heard of the* large Reply *in Vindication of* the Catholick Apology, *written by a Person of as great Wit as Honour; in which I afterwards found there was a particular Discourse upon this Argument. I must confess that the Honourable Author hath as well acquitted himself as could be expected in a Case of this nature, and by the reviving and skilful disposing of what hath bin said by others, and starting many things not taken notice of, that I know of, before, hath put a pretty*

Varniſh upon the Cauſe, and made it paſſable with inconſiderate Perſons. But if what is there ſaid be warily view'd, I do not queſtion, but it will appear to be founded rather upon conjecture, than ſolid Hiſtory, and to have more of fancy than truth in it. But whether this be ſo or not, or whether what I have here ſaid will make it evident or no, I muſt now leave to the Judicious and ſuch as will be concerned impartially to inquire into the merits of the Cauſe. If it ſhould be expected that I ſhould have taken notice of ſome other late Books of our Adverſaries that touch upon this Subject, I have only this to ſay, that I have not willingly overlooked any; and as for thoſe that I have ſeen, I find little or nothing which is not the ſame with what is ſaid in the foreſaid Reply, and that hath not for the moſt part bin borrowed from it.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Gunpowder-Treason VINDICATED.

THE Conſpiracy of the *Gunpowder-Treaſon*, carried in its front, ſo much of unnatural cruelty, that with all their Art the Party could put no colour upon it: and therefore there hath been nothing wanting amongſt them to vindicate themſelves and their Religion from being concerned in it. Sometimes they will ſlander Authority, and make the Judges and Council to Conſpire againſt them. Sometimes the whole was the contrivance of a Miniſter of State. Sometimes the Traitors were but very few, and they ſuch as were young and raſh, quick to reſent a provocation, and eaſily inclined to revenge it. Sometimes it was in thoſe diſcontent, & not Religion. And if any or all of theſe will ſerve to ſtop the mouths of their Adverſaries and protect themſelves, they will boldly ſtand up in their own vindication; And that they have reaſon to ſay all this, is what they do

do maintain. I ſhall therefore conſider their ſeveral pleas, and do think that I ſhall take in all that they ſay, and ſhew it to be very weak and inſufficient, if I make good,

1. That this was a Plot of their own, and not contrived to their hands by their Adverſaries,

2. That more were concerned in it, than were at that time publickly known and accuſed.

3. That thoſe that fled and ſuffered for it were really guilty.

4. That this Conſpiracy was purely upon the account of Religion.

5. I ſhall add, that they never yet gave to the world any real and good ſatisfaction of their abhorrency of it.

Of what great uſe it will be, if they could prove the whole to be anothers device, I cannot well underſtand. For if it could be made as clear as the day that a *Miniſter of State* drew the Conſpirators into the nooze, and had ſuch as from time to time did give him intelligence how their affair ſtood, will it ſerve to clear their innocency, and make the Plot on their part to be none? was there all the while no evil inclination of their own to work upon, and no miſchief intended by them? were they drawn in without their conſent? or were they not drawn in at all, but the whole accuſation a Fiction, and it no better than *a ſeeming Plot*, as one ſuggeſts? If not, why is this ſo vigorouſly urged, and ſo much enlarged upon by our late Apologiſts? But yet how little ſhadow of proof there is for this, will appear if we conſider how inconſtantly theſe ſpeak as to this matter. For if we will hearken to the man *of 70 years* when he died (who is for that reaſon preſumed to be a perſon of ſome credit in the caſe by the honourable Author above ſaid) he ſaith, *Fuit non levis ſuſpitio, &c.* that *there was no light ſuſpicion of a certain Peer's being acquainted*

Catholick-Apology with reply. p. 404.

F. Mer-

112.

Hiſt. p. 310.

quainted with the Conſpiracy long before its diſcovery, who cunningly pretended ignorance that the more might be involved in it. It was in his time (it ſeems) a ſuſpicion, and a ſuſpicion that that Noble-man knew of the Conſpiracy, *i.e.* by the intelligence he kept with ſome of them. But in the current of ten or twelve years, from a ſuſpicion it comes to a certainty; from his being privy to it, it comes to be his proper Invention. For now its ſaid *to be ſet a work by the diſcoverers; to be a trick invented by the States-man*, and *to be a ſeeming Plot*; *and that they were drawn into it by the dexterity of a Proteſtant.* It was in *More's* time ſome Noble man thus was ſuſpected, but now upon the ſole credit of Mr. *Osborn*, it muſt be the Treaſurer (meaning I believe *Cecil*, tho at the time of this Treaſon he was Secretary only) and he for his good ſervice was made an Earl, as our Author ſaith; altho as luck would have it, he was ſo created on the Saturday after St. *George's* day, *Ann.* 1605, which was above ſix months before this Treaſon broke out.

Apol. *p.* 403, 404.

p. 538.

Apol. *p.* 411. Baker's Chr. *An.* 1605.

So inconſiſtent are Perſons with themſelves, when they have not truth on their ſide; and ſo apt are they to catch at any little thing, when they ſerve a Cauſe or a Party.

For is it not an eaſie thing to raiſe ſuch a report, and have we not reaſon to believe ſuch will do it, whoſe intereſt it is to diſcharge themſelves of it, and who as they would deny it if they could, ſo would to be ſure extenuat it when it is not to be denied? Can we think that they who contrived to *caſt the whole upon the Puritans*, if it had ſucceeded, were not as able and willing when it miſcarried to *place the name of* Cecil *in their Regiſter, as the Maſter-workman* (as the above ſaid Author ſaith that *Sanderſon* doth acknowledg) and to make him the deviſer of it?

Wilſon great *Brit.* p. 32.

p. 412.

Further

Apol.p.414. Furthermore is it not uſual for ſuch as would be accounted *Men of Wit* (which the *Apol.* ſaith Mr. *Osborn* was noted for) to allow little of that in others; and for ſuch as
P. 236, pretend to be *Inquiſitive & Politicoes* (as the *Apol.* ſaith *Tacitus* did) to *have every thing a Myſtery*? can we think that he that ſlubbers over what K. *James* did well, and continually expoſeth him in what he thinks he did ill; that will hardly allow him to have any ſenſe of Honour and Religion; would not be ſhy alſo of allowing him one dram of ſagacity above other men to find out a Riddle, or any greater title to divine Providence to help him to unfold it? Can we think that he, that was a *frequenter of company, and inquiſitive*, (as this Author ſaith *Osborn* was) could be ignorant of ſuch rumours as were ſcattered at that time abroad by the party concerned (if ſuch there were); or that he that had a ſpite at the Court, would not maliciouſly improve them? And is there any reaſon to believe the one or the other upon their bare affirmation? I do not think that the credit of ſuch will paſs at this time abroad without better Certificates, and therefore ſince this
P.413. honourable Perſon is he alone that *hath urged ſome Arguments for it*, as he affirms; I ſhall conſider what he hath ſaid. And, in the firſt place, I think what he hath ſaid
P.410. concerning the Letter ſent to the Lord *Monteagle* to be very remarkable, upon which he obſerves, *That it's pleaſant to ſee in moſt of the Relations and Accounts of this Buſineſs, how the Letter appeared Nonſence forſooth to* Cecil, *and with what a particular adulation he ſeemed all along to admire the King's Comment and Expoſition; for though his Majeſty had as much Wit as any man living, yet the Affair was ſo plain, that one of a far leſs capacity could not miſcarry in it.* Herein I muſt confeſs he is very ſingular, and I am of his mind
P.413. when he ſaith, *perchance I have bin the firſt that urged the preſent*

present Arguments. For to this day all the World hath bin of another opinion; and without doubt whoever had seen the Letter before the event did unriddle it, must have no more thought of such a design, then those that read the Case, that *Del Rio* put, of *powder being placed so, that the Prince and all that are in the City would be thereby destroyed,* could think of the respect which that had to *England.* Will we hearken to their stout Apologist, he acknowledgeth that *Rex & ingenio per se acer, & periculo factus acrior,* &c. *the King naturally of a sharp wit, and by his danger made more quick, when he could conceive no other way by which the Parliament should be destroyed, suspected, as it was, that it must be by some Mine, and so caused the place to be searched.* If *Barclay* be to be heeded, the King was Divinely inspired. Nay, if *Bellarmine* * be to be credited, *it was not discovered without a Miracle of Divine Providence.* And after all these it will be of some Authority with Protestants, not only that King *James* in his Speech on that occasion saith *it was miraculous*; and that when *a general obscure Advertisement was given of some dangerous blow at this time, I did* (saith he) *upon the instant interpret and apprehend some dark Phrases therein, contrary to the ordinary Grammar construction of them (and in another sort than I am sure any Divine, or Lawyer in any University would have taken them) to be meant by this horrible form of blowing us all up by Powder.* But also the Lords and Commons in Parliament declared, *that the Plot would have turned to the utter ruin of this whole Kingdom, had it not pleased Almighty God, by inspiring the King's most excellent Majesty with a Divine Spirit to interpret some dark phrases of a Letter shewed to his Majesty, above and beyond all ordinary construction, thereby miraculously discovering this hidden Treason.* After all which, whether I shall, with the aforesaid Author, say

P. 413.

V. Discourse of the original of the Powder-Plot. p. 4. &c. Apol. pro Garneto. p. 268.

* Tortus p. 83. edit Colon.

Act of Parliament for 5 *Nov.*

P. 408.

 that

that the words of that Letter are obvious (and which he by way of ſcorn calls the Miraculous Letter) or, with Sir *Edward Cook* in his Speech, ſay upon the Authority afore-ſaid, *that the King was divinely inſpired by Almighty God, the only Ruler of Princes, like an Angel of God, to direct and point out as it were to the very place, to cauſe a ſearch to be made, out of thoſe dark words of the Letter, concerning* [*a terrible Blow*] I leave the world to judg. But he will not only have the Letter plain for the matter of it, but alſo undertakes to find out the Authour, which he will needs have to be the *State-man*; and thinks to come off with a pretty Query or two. *Is it poſſible* (ſaith he) *to imagin that any Man could be ſo mad, after he and his Partizans had brought their Plot to that perfection, had ſo ſolemnly ſwore by the Trinity and Sacrament never to diſcloſe it directly or indirectly, by word or circumſtance; and had reſolved to blow up all the Catholick Lords, and the reſt of their Friends, &c. To fancy that a man ſhould write a Letter, that had more in it of a Plot againſt the State, than the bare ſaving of a Friend.* Again, *Suppoſe this, yet what need was there to write, that God and Man would puniſh the Parliament, &c. and a hundred other circumſtances not only ſuſpicious, but to no manner of purpoſe, unleſs intended for the detection of the whole Intrigue? Beſides, no man really engaged in the Treaſon (had he bin never ſo great a Fool) would have given warning ten days before the Plot was to be executed.* And ſo he goes on to ſhew how *this warning was quite oppoſite to the deſigns of a Conſpirator, &c. but beneficial to a Machiavilian.*

P. 405. Proceedings P. 118.

P. 405.

P. 406.

P. 407.

P. 409.

P. 410.

From all which we may obſerve how much may be ſaid by a man of Wit, to baffle any Cauſe that he undertakes to overthrow; ſince this that he hath ſaid, is in the ground of it falſe (as hath elſewhere bin ſhewed,) and what if I had no proof of it, yet what this Honourable Perſon

Perſon ſaith, is far from proving what he deſigns. For he diſcourſeth as if no one ever had bin falſe to the Oath of ſecrecy which he had taken in any Conſpiracy; or as if there were no perſons in the World had ever done this with allowance. He diſcourſeth as if no Perſon that had a Deſign to deſtroy multitudes without compaſſion, could not be over-ruled to ſpare one alone from a particular affection. He ſuppoſeth that no one in writing a Letter to that purpoſe could unwittingly let fall ſuch things as might beget ſuſpicion, and be a means of diſcovering the Deſign. He ſuppoſeth again that no one in ſo doing can be over-ruled by the Providence of God to go beyond what he did intend, and to betray what he reſolved to keep ſecret. Now if any, or all of theſe things be true, the Letter might have bin written by one that was privy to the Plot, by *Percy* or any of the reſt, without the help of his *Machiavilian*, notwithſtanding what ever he hath bin pleaſed to ſay to the contrary. But if it was writ by him, why was it put into my Lord *Monteagle's* hand, who was a Roman-Catholick, and who muſt have bin a Confident of *Cecils*, and privy to the whole affair? or elſe it might have miſcarried through the hands of the Perſon that carried it, or the hands of him that received it (it being a kind of a Note, and delivered in the evening) or that Lord might have *contemn'd the Admonition, as coming from an idle Fellow in the ſtreet*, as this Authour ſaith, and throw it aſide; or he might have concealed and diſowned it. Or if it had come ſafe, and that Lord did, as he did, diſcover and deliver it, yet the King himſelf might have happened not to have had the ſharpneſs of our Authours wit, and bin alike dull as others; and then the whole intention of the Letter had bin loſt, which was as he ſaith *to have the thing diſcovered*; And ſo the Secretary had loſt

History of the Gunpowder-Treaſon. P. 19.

P. 410.

P. 411.

the opportunity of *making his vigilance appear*, and missed *of the reward of being made an Earl for his Service*; which are the reasons the above said Author gives of the whole. And now I should have dismissed this long Discourse of the Letter, but that he spends above a page in shewing the folly of giving ten days warning, if all had not bin by the design of the aforesaid Statesman. Why it was delay'd on the Secretary's part *Thuanus* and others do give the reason, *viz.* That the King being then at *Royston*, they kept the Letter till his return, which was Friday *November* 1. when it was shewed him, and it was the next day brought into the Council, where it was ordered that search should be made, which was deferred till Monday evening, that they might give no occasion to Rumour or Jealousie.

And why it was sent so long before (if I may guess for once as well as our Author hath often) I conceive it might be that the Lord *Monteagle* might have time to find out some pretence for his absence or because the Person that wrote it had a sure hand to send it by.

Having thus fixed upon one for a Contriver of the Conspiracy, and withal made him to be the Author of the aforesaid mysterious Letter, this ingenious Person did perceive that he had still said nothing, unless he was able to point to one that should be a constant Spy upon the Conspirators, and an useful intelligence to the projecting States-man; and in so doing he spares not to charge one who may be well supposed as little liable to a temptation to be thus made use of, as any of the Fraternity, and that is *Mr. Treshem*. For what should induce him to so great perfidiousness? Could it be a vile education that should thus debase his mind to decoy his dear Relation (for I am told by a certain Author, that he and *Catesby* were

Advocate for Liberty p. 226.

Sisters

Sisters Children) and intimate Friends into such a Design, and having thus decoy'd them, to leave them to the rigor of the Law? This might perhaps lie against a *Bates*, who was but a menial Servant; but *Tresham* was a Gentleman of an ancient Family, and had an education suitable to his extraction. Could it be necessity, and this a course made use of to patch up his broken Fortunes? This might have bin a reason for a *Keyes*, whose Fortunes were sunk (as he acknowledged upon the Trial) but *Tresham* had a plentiful Estate, and promised to contribute 2000 *l.* towards the Design. Could it be a coldness in their Religion, or that he really was of none? The contrary to that is evident, in that rather than put *Garnet* into danger, or not clear him of what he had before confessed against him, he chose to die with an apparent Lye in his mouth, and did pawn his Salvation to verify it. Could it lastly be from a doubtfulness of the issue, and a resolution to provide for his own safety? That we find not a tittle of; but that he might have done, and provided for theirs too, by obliging them to desist from their Design for fear of discovery; that he might have done, and never discover'd them, or taken such a base course to procure. So that if we consider the thing (as it fell) it might have bin as well *Catesby* or *Percy* (whom an Author of theirs would also fasten a suspicion in that kind upon) or any, as *Tresham*.

Proceedings p. 56.

Proceedings p. 177.

Advocate of Liberty. p. 225.

But there are some Reasons offered from this suspicion; for *Tresham was suspected by themselves*, saith the *Apol.* But what was he suspected of? not of being a Spy or a Setter, but of having sent the Letter to the Lord *Monteagle*. So saith *Tho. Winter* in his confession, *When Catesby, Tresham, and I met at Barnet, we questioned how this Letter should be sent to my Lord* Monteagle, *but could not conceive; for Mr.* Tresham *forswore it, whom we only suspected*; and this he might

Apol. p. 416.

Proceedings p. 58.

might write, and be no ſuch Perſon; nay it's certain if he had writ this Letter, he could be no Decoy, ſince there would then have bin no need to give his Lordſhip any ſuch warning; when he, being privy to the whole Tranſaction, was ſure that the Deſign would be diſcovered, and prevented, and ſo neither the Lord nor any elſe, but the Conſpirators, be in danger.

Apol. *ibid.* Well, but *Treſham hanckered about the Court when all his fellow Conſpirators fled*, And ſo it's likely he did, that he might not by his flight give any ſuſpicion; but when he was ſuſpected, *he ſhifted his Lodgings*, ſaith *Thuanus*, *and ſo for a time eſcaped.* And ſurely this was more wiſely done than to fly with the reſt into the Country, where they could not but be diſcovered, and when nothing but plain force could ſecure them when diſcovered; and that they could have little hopes of, as long as King and Parliament and *London* were ſafe. But if he had bin a Decoy, what need he have hanckered about the Court, or ſculked afterwards for fear of diſcovery; *if he was Cecils inſtrument, and had acceſs to him at midnight* (as one, that is ready to ſwear to the certainty of whatever the foreſaid honourable Author doth with greater modeſty only ſuſpect and conjecture at, doth ſay) he knew where to be ſafe, and by whom to be received. But *a Setter may be hanged, that his Patron's Art might not be ſuſpected*—*and if his Creature will not be ſatisfied with words, and is like to be dangerous and unruly, 'tis then only ſaying he died of a Strangury, or ſome ſudden Diſtemper in Priſon, as it happened here to* Treſham, *who, leſt he ſhould diſcover it, was never brought to a publick Trial, but was with another* [nameleſs Perſon] *ſent to the Tower, and they were never ſeen afterwards, leſt they ſhould tell tales*, as an excellent Romancer tells us. Surely *Treſham* was in the deepeſt Dungeon, where none but the

Advocate for Liberty. p. 225.

Apol. p. 415, 416.

Advocate for Liberty. p 225.

ſowr

ſowr Keeper could come to ſpeak with him. Surely he never ſpoke word, but all on the ſudden by the power of ſome poiſonous Potion was made to ſleep his laſt, and being found dead, it was given out he died of the Strangury. But now what if this Man did indeed die of the Strangury? what if he did die while his Wife and Servant were with him? What if he did not die ſo ſuddenly, but that his Wife dealt with him to recant what ever he had ſaid againſt *Garnet*, and to ſubſcribe a Paper to that purpoſe? Why then it's to be feared that they muſt ſeek for another, to bear the part of a Spy, and let Mr. *Treſham* die as the reſt of the knot did, true ſo far to one another, tho never ſo falſe to their King and Country. And this I ſhall prove beyond any queſtion; For if *Cecil* was the Contriver of this Plot (as they give out) then *Treſham* could not be his Agent; ſince the whole was communicated to *Winter* in the latter end of the Year 1603: but *Treſham* was not acquainted with it, nor taken in to the number till about *Auguſt* 1605, as appears from *Winters* Confeſſion. So that either the Plot muſt not be *Cecils*, or *Cecil* muſt carry it on for a year and a half without ſuch a Factor, or elſe he muſt have another that he did thus employ than *Treſham*. But if there was ſuch a Sateſman to contrive, and ſuch an intelligence to carry it on; how came the Conſpirators, who had ſome ſuſpition it ſeems of *Treſham*, not to make uſe of ſuch a Plea to excuſe themſelves, or mitigate their Crime, either upon their Examination and Trial, or at their Execution? Whence again was it that thoſe, that in thoſe days writ Apologies for them, never offered at this, altho they were ſuch as were furniſhed with Intelligence enough to have found it out, and Sagacity enough to have made uſe of it, if it had bin true? To the latter of theſe the anſwer is ready: *The firſt Apologiſts* (ſaith our Authour)

Proceedings p. 176.

Proceedings p. 47, 56.

Apol. p. 411.

Author) *were ſtrangers*, as Bellarmine, Eudemon, Johannes, &c. *who perchance either knew not the grounds of our ſuſpicion, or if they did, would not in print accuſe a great Noble-man of a Crime, which, though true, could not yet be made good, and ſufficiently proved by them, for time and patience can only bring ſuch deeds of darkneſs to light.* It muſt be confeſſed that the Perſons he ſpeaks of were ſtrangers, but whether ſtrangers to our affairs or not, is hardly to be queſtioned: There being ſo conſtant, ſettled, and exact a Correſpondence maintained betwixt the Superiours and Inferiours of the Order of the Jeſuits (of which Order theſe *Apologiſts* were) that hardly any be greater. For the Rectors and Superiours of any College muſt every day write down the Tranſactions of their Houſe, and every week write to the Provincial, if in *Europe*, and with ſuch exactneſs, *ut omnia tanquam præſentia Provincialis cernat*, that the Provincial may underſtand all things by that means as if he was preſent. The Miſſionaries, who are employed abroad, are obliged *to write alſo to the Provincial every week concerning ſuch Affairs as they are concerned in, and ſuch matters as they obſerve. The Provincials are under the ſame obligation of writing to their* General *at* Rome *once every month; and in that manner alſo, ut omnium rerum, omniumque perſonarum ac Provinciarum ſtatum, quoad ejus fieri poſſit, ante oculos habeat*: So that the General may as it were have before his eyes, as much as can be, the ſtate of all Things, Perſons, and Provinces: But *if this monthly and weekly writing be not ſufficient; in extraordinary caſes, it is to be as often as there is a neceſſity for it: provided that in matters of Secrecy it be in ſuch Cyphers as the General ſhall appoint, and none but him ſhall have a Key to.* Now who can apprehend, that any thing in a caſe fit to be obſerved ſhould not be known as well at *Rome* as *London*, and

Regulæ ſocietatis Ieſu authoritate Congregat. Generalis auctor. cap. Formula ſcribendi. Reg. 2, 3, 4. Reg. 5. Reg. 7, & 11.

Reg. 9.

Reg. 18.

and that those who are so punctual in lesser matters should not be as precise in understanding and making their observations upon a case, which the reputation of their Religion and Society were infinitely concerned in. And as for *Endæmon-Johannes*; besides he saith *Neq; verò mirum*, &c. *let not any one wonder, that I write freely, not only of the manners and customs of* England; *but also sometimes of secret affairs, when from my youth up I have bin very conversant with them.* So that his converse with them, and the intelligence of his order furnished him with all things necessary for an Apologist, and withall he further pretends that *etiamnum versatur Romæ*, &c. *there are those now at* Rome, *who took not only the words but the Syllables Garnet* spoke before his execution. So punctual do they desire and would be thought to be in things of this nature,

Apol.pro. Garneto P.3.

Apol. Pro. Garneto c. 12.p.332.

But further the *Apologist* saith, that *those persons would not in print accuse a Noble-man of a Crime*, &c. as if they were very backward to speak ill of any; though it be in their own vindication. But what then shall be said to the above said Author, who calls Sr. *Edward Coke an impudent man, and the greatest forger of Lyes and Calumnies.* And saith of him, *that he looks upon it as dishonorable to himself, to let any thing pass from him without a lie to back it*; and yet this person whom he thus reviles was at the time of his writing Lord Chief Justice, as he owns. What shall we say to *Bellarmine* in his reply to King *James* under the name of *Tortus*, who treats his Majesty *in such terms, as neither became a Church-man to give, nor a Prince to take* (saith Dr. Hakewel) *giving me nine times the lye in expres terms, and seven times charging me with falsehood, which Phrase is equivalent to a lye*; as King *James* himself saith. And besides other things of that kind there enumerated, compares him with *Julian the Apostate*, and saith *Jacobus*

Apol.pro. Garneto p.13. 212. P. 227. P. 1. & 228.

Answer to Carrier. p.235. Premonition in his Works p. 294.

V. Tortur. Tort. p. 101, 102. *Jacobus non eſt Chriſtianus*; *that James* (not vouchſafing to call him King) *was no Chriſtian.* Whence it appears they are not over thrifty of reproaches where there is occaſion, and the greatneſs of the perſon ſhall not protect him from them, where they have a mind to beſtow them. But what can we expect from ſuch as will tell us in the face of the World *that* Treſham *was a Decoy*, that *there were but four Gentlemen in the powder-Treaſon*, that *theſe four were neceſſitous or looſe perſons*; and *that if any of theſe were Papiſts, or ſo died, they were not ſo long before*; Things altogether as true, as that *Percy and Catesby had no weapons but their Swords*; and that *there was little intimacy betwixt the Lord* Monteagle *and* Percy. And yet all theſe falſhoods are to be met with in a few pages of an Advocate of theirs. Such as will dare thus to contradict, not only our, but their own Books in ſuch evident particulars (as thoſe above mentioned, and which any one may be ſatisfied about in the Books referred to in the Margent) when it may ſerve their turn; Such as will not ſpare their own party in ſuch a caſe, may be preſumed to ſacrifice the Reputation of others without difficulty for the ſame end; and if they can perſwade us to believe theſe, we may be brought to believe in time there was no ſuch Plot at all, and (to make uſe of the words of a learned perſon) *if they go on in this way, without the leaſt ſhadow of proof, to lay the contrivance of this Plot on a profeſſed Proteſtant: for all that I know, by the next age they may hope to perſwade men, that it was a Plot of the Proteſtants to blow up a Popiſh King and Parliament.* So that for all that hath been ſaid to the contrary, we have reaſon to believe King *James*, who hath publiſhed to the World, that *the Gunpowder-Treaſon was only plotted by Papiſts.*

Advocate for Liberty of Conſcience p. 218, 219, 226. p. 225. p. 224. *Apol. pro* Garnet. p. 4. K. *James* p. 229. Dr. *Stillingfleets* Serm. Nov. 5. 1675. Premonition to all Monarchs in his works. p. 291.

Now if we reflect upon all that hath bin ſaid, and what pains hath bin taken to make *Cecil* the deviſer of all this miſchief,

miſchief; one would think that there was nothing elſe could be charged upon them; and that they had never bin before concerned in any Deſign of this nature. Who would have thought that either the Pope had iſſued out Breves to keep any Proteſtant Prince (ſuch as K. *James* was) out of the Throne: or that ever any means had bin uſed by this ſort of men to prevent it! And yet Pope *Clement* 8. ſent two Breves, one to the Laity, and another to the Clergy, to this purpoſe, in which it was required, that *quandocunq; contingeret miſeram illam fæminam ex hac vita excedere; whenſoever it ſhall happen that that miſerable Woman* [Q. Elizabeth] *ſhould depart this life; whoſoever ſhould lay claim or title to the Crown of* England, *quantumcunq; propinquitate ſanguinis niterentur*, &c. *tho never ſo directly intereſſed therein, unleſs they were ſuch as would not only tolerate the Catholick* [Romiſh] *Religion, but ſwear with all their endeavours to promote it, they ſhould not admit them to be King of* England. But *theſe Breves*, ſaith an Author of theirs, *were ſo far from being a prejudice to King* James, *that it was intended for his advantage; for there was a Letter ſent to the ſaid* Clement *(ſome two or three years before our Queens death) under the King's own Hand and Seal, by the hand (as they ſaid) of the Scots Secretary of State; and therein his Majeſty gave his Holineſs aſſurance of his being a Catholick, or to that purpoſe; therefore the Breves could not be intended to put him by, whom the Pope had already ſuch confidence in: but their drift it ſeems was againſt ſeveral* Engliſh *pretenders, as my Lord of* Hertford, *&c.* Thus far that Honourable Perſon. But if the Pope was ſo much a Friend to King *James* as to aſſert his title againſt all his oppoſers, whence was it that ſuch care was otherwiſe taken to ſet up another, and that ſuch Books were written as *Doleman*, for that purpoſe? And whence was it that money was ſent over to maintain

Proceedings p. 160, 161.

Cath. Apol p. 364.

Watſon's Quodlibets p. 107, 241 *&c.*

Proceedings p. 186, 187.

it, as *Garnet* himſelf did confeſs? Whence came all theſe Prophecies of the confuſion and miſery that this Nation ſhould be involved in upon the death of Queen *Elizabeth*? And why then did *the Jeſuits tamper with Catholicks, as well to diſwade them from the acceptance of King* James *at his firſt coming, ſaying, that they ought rather to die, than to admit of any Heretick to the Crown; and that they might not under pain of Excommunication accept of any but a Catholick for their Sovereign; as alſo to diſwade Catholicks from their Loyalty, after the State was ſetteled?* as *Watſon* and *Clark* two Seminary Prieſts did confeſs upon their apprehenſion. What ever is pleaded now, I am ſure King *James* thought otherwiſe, who ſaith, *it may be the like excuſe* [viz. the raſhneſs of the Pope upon wrong Information] *ſhall hereafter be made for the two Breves, which* Clement 8th *ſent to* England *immediately before her death* [*Queen* Elizabeth] *for debarring me of the Crown, or any other that either would profeſs, or any ways tolerate the Profeſſors of our Religion, &c.* *Catesby* alſo was of another opinion: for when *Garnet* ſeem'd to deſire that the Pope's conſent might be obtained to the Powder-Treaſon: *Catesby* anſwered, *that he took that as granted by the Pope in the two Bulls or Breves before; For if it were lawful not to receive or repel him* [K. James] *(as the ſaid Bulls do import) then it is lawful alſo to expel and caſt him out.* *Garnet* alſo himſelf had no ſuch thoughts, for inſtead of alledging that the King was not concerned in them, he only pleads that altho *he received them from the Pope, yet he ſhewed them to very few Catholicks in the Queens time; and when he had underſtood the Pope had changed his mind, then he burnt the Bulls.* By which he owns that they were directed againſt the King, or elſe it were no Plea for him to make, that the Pope had changed his mind, and no excuſe for himſelf, that he had burnt them.

Weſton, de triplici hom. Offic.

Proceedings p. 123.

Apology for the Oath of Allegiance in K. *James* his Works. p. 257.

Proceedings p. 167.

Proceedings p. 195, 196.

So

So King *James* himself argues against one that made use of the same shift with our Author, *If the Breves did not exclude me from the Kingdom, but rather did include me, why did* Garnet *burn them? why would he not receive them that I might have seen them, that so he might have obtained more favour for him and his Catholicks?* So little was it then thought either by Friends or Foes that these Bulls were sent over on that Prince's behalf. But it seems the Pope had some broad intimation given him of King *James*'s affection both to his Holiness and his Religion; our Author calls it, *an assurance of his being a Catholick under his own Hand and Seal.* And truly if it had been so, I know no better Certificate could be given at that distance; but this Honourable Person did with caution add, [*to the Kings Hand and Seal*] *that it was obtained by the fraud (as they said) of the Scotish Secretary of State.* For indeed thereby hangs a tale, and tho the Intrigue of this matter hath been sufficiently discovered and made evident to the World by several learned Persons; yet because this Story hath bin revived not only by this Author, but also by a spightful Pen amongst our selves, * (whom I shall not be so severe upon, because he lately upon his Death-bed recanted that mischievous Book) I shall insert a brief account of it.

Tortus's lies confuted in K. *James*'s Works. p. 341.

Bp. *Andrews Tort. Torti* p. 190. *&c. Spotswood's* Hist. *Scotl.* p. 508.

In the year 1598, the Lord *Balmerinoch* Secretary of State in *Scotland*, at the instance of his Cousin Sir *Edward Drummond*, a professed Papist, did solicit the King to write a Letter to *Clement* the VIII in the behalf of the Bishop of *Vaison*, their kinsman, for a Cardinalship: suggesting withal that it would be a means to secure the succession of the Crown to his Majesty. But the King obstinatly refusing, they did contrive to shuffle in a Letter, to that purpose, amongst others (omitting the Titles given to the Pope and leaving room for their insertion afterwards) and

*Dr. *Moulin* advances of the Church of *En.* towards Popery.

and to wait when the King was ready to go on hunting to procure his hand to that with the reſt. This Letter ſo obtained, *Drummond* carried to *Rome*; but within a while this being diſcovered to Queen *Elizabeth*, ſhe in the year 1599 ſent to the King about it. He thereupon queſtions *Balmerinoch*, who abſolutely denied it, and to give the King ſatisfaction ſent for *Drummond*, who abjured it. Thus it continued, till in the year 1608, when Cardinal *Bellarmine* undertaking to reply to the King's Apology for the Oath of Allegiance, charged him with inconſtancy upon the account of this Letter. *Balmerinoch* happen'd then to come into *England* about other matters; the firſt thing put to him at *Royſton* (where the King at that time was) was the buſineſs of this Letter, which he then confeſſed. upon this he was remitted to *Scotland*, and there Arraign'd, and Condemn'd; all the while acknowledging, *as he wiſhed God to have mercy upon his Soul, that his Majeſty was wrongfully charged with the writing that Letter.* And that he was ſo, (and ſo it could not be an argument for the Popes kindneſs to the King in thoſe Breves) will be evident, if it be conſidered,

Spotſwood's Hiſt. p. 510.

(1.) That in the year 1599 (as above ſaid) the thing was known, and the whole denied and abjured by the perſons concerned, which the Pope could not be ignorant of. For *Drummond* was not only ſent for over by *Balmerinoch* to forſwear it, but was notwithſtanding upon ſuſpicion impriſoned, and after he had obtained his Liberty, going to *Rome*, did, upon the importunity of *Balmerinoch*, by ſome art procure that Letter, and ſent it back to the Secretary, as he confeſſed.

Reſponſ. ad Tort. p. 194.

(2.) While the Pope had this Letter, he did ſhew it to all Scotſmen that came to him, enquiring if they knew the hand, and ſuffering ſome to take tranſcripts of it; which

Id. 195.

which if he had not ſuſpected, he would certainly have kept to himſelf, or communicated only to ſuch as he could truſt ſuch a neceſſary ſecret, as that was, with.

(3.) The Pope never did return an anſwer to his Majeſty, nor did at all concern himſelf to do what he did deſire of him; whereas if he had believed the Letter to be the Act of that King, he would not have ſo far neglected the intereſt of the Church, as to have ſlighted it.

(4.) When not many years afterwards he, did upon his own accord write an obliging Letter to the King, he did not only omit the Title of Son, *&c.* which he doth give to all Princes of their Communion; but alſo did not take any notice of that Letter pretended to be written; which would have been a very good ground to have faſtened a deſired correſpondence upon. Id. 196.

(5.) This was the ſenſe of the Prieſts upon the point; for after this *Parſons* the Jeſuit did declare that the *King was an obſtinate Heretick, and that there was no poſſibility of his Converſion.* And *Garnet*, when in the laſt days of Queen *Elizabeth* he was ſolicited by a Gentleman of his own Religion to favour the King's Title, anſwered, *he would have nothing to do in it, for the King was ſo obdurate in his Religion, that there was no hopes of his Converſion.* Now, (as the Earl of *Northampton* then ſaid in his Speech) *every one may gueſs that it was no ſleight or ordinary degree of deſpair that made them renounce their portion in the Son and Heir of the renowned* Mary *Q. of* Scots, *a member of the Roman Church.* *Watſons* Quodlibets, p. 218. Printed, 1602. *Reſp. ad Tortum.* p. 197. Proceedings p. 136.

From which it appears that this Letter was the Letter of *Balmerinoch*, and not of King *James*; and that the Pope had no more a reſpect to it in thoſe Breves, then there was in them intended a kindneſs to that King. And from all that hath been ſaid will alſo appear, how little reaſon there is to make any other a Contriver of this Treaſon than the Conſpirators, and their own Party.

Sect.

SECT. II.

More were concerned in this Conſpiracy, than were at that time publickly known and accuſed.

Catholick-Apology P 401.

THE Author of the *Catholick Apology*, ſaith that *the Traitors were but thirteen Laymen*, viz, Cateſby, Piercy, *the two* Wrights, Treſham, Faux, Keys, Bates, Grant, Rookwood, *the two* Winters *and* Digby, *as all Writers have it, nor can any thing be more clear than that there were no more Conſpirators:* and he is ſo confident as to ſay, *that no body was privy to it* [except *Owen*] *but theſe few there mentioned.* Where, as he would clear the Jeſuits of it, ſo he is forgetful of the five Laymen, beſides *Hall* the Jeſuit which ſuffered upon the ſame account at *Worceſter*; and of thoſe that fled, mentioned by *Thuanus*. However that few were taken and convicted upon it, is what, with our Hiſtorians, I freely acknowledg. I ſhall further yield to this Noble Author, *that the Commons, Lords and Privy Council were ſo vigilant, that they left no ſtone unturned to find out the depth of the Plot:* but that no more were concerned than were diſcovered, or that no more were diſcovered, was becauſe no more were really concerned, is what none, but ſuch as are blinded by prejudice, or biaſſed by being of a party, can imagine.

P. 528.

Apol. p. 401.

This will appear if we conſider, the Deſign it it ſelf, which was not only to blow up the Parliment-Houſe, *the place*, as *Catesby* ſaid, *where they had done us the miſchief*, or the perſons that did there contrive it; but alſo *to ſtrike at the root, and breed a confuſion fit to beget new alterations*; as *Winter* did then obſerve to him, it was to blow

Winter's Confeſ. in Proceedings p. 48.

up the eſtabliſhed Religion to make thereby room for their own, and to diſturb the Government in order to it; and this was not to be done by fourteen Lay-men, tho we caſt in the four Jeſuits alſo to their aſſiſtance. Whilſt the Plot lay under ground, and was to be carried on by Mining, there needed only a few heads to contrive, and a few hands to execute: and that part of it which required only the Match and the Tinder, a *Faux* alone was ſufficient for; theſe might manage the more ſecret Negotiation. But if that had ſucceeded, there muſt many more have appeared upon the Stage to quiet or curb the multitude; to keep things ſafe at home, and maintain a fair Correſpondence abroad. And can it be thought that ſuch perſons, as were found to have been imployed herein, did not underſtand as much, or when they underſtood could neglect it? Can it be thought that ſuch perſons as ventured all they had in the World; the Gentlemen their Eſtates and Honours; the Jeſuits their own, and the Reputation of their Society; and all of them the honour of their Religion, and their own Lives, would put all this into jeopardy, without weighing the caſe, and all circumſtances relating thereunto? Can it be thought that *Catesby*, who was a *cautious man* (as *Thuanus* ſaith) *and one not more eminent by birth than the endowments of his mind*, as another ſaith; or *Garnet*, *who was one of a ſharp Wit, ſolid Judgment and of long Experience*, as another ſaith, (being ſeveral years Provincial of his Order) and the reſt, could lay the whole ſtreſs of ſuch an important Deſign upon ſo few as twenty Perſons? Can we think again ſuch ſhould be guilty of this omiſſion who had been engaged in Plots from time to time; and that they who could aſſure the King of *Spain* in the Spaniſh Treaſon, that upon his Invaſion *the Catholicks of* England *would have in readineſs for his uſe and Service*

Eudæmon. Apol. pro. *Garneto* p. 4. *Mori* Hiſt. miſs p. 311.

Proceedings p. 92.

vice 1500 *or* 2000 *Horſes*, could forget the like proviſion now, or that they could think of Horſes and provide no Riders for them? It was without doubt upon a better Army than that of a *few Servants and Horſe-Boys* (as the Author of the *Apology* reckons them up) that Sir *Everard Digby* was aſſured, that *if the Deſignhad taken place there would have bin no doubt of other ſucceſs; and that there would have bin a League anſwerable to that in France.*

Cath. Apol. p. 402. Paper. 9.

The Perſons concerned herein were not ſuch Novices as to undertake ſo much upon no proſpect of good and ſufficient aſſiſtance. This they well foreſaw, and did in the beginning adviſe about, as *Winter* confeſſed; *Whilſt we were together, we began to faſhion our buſineſs, and diſcourſed what we ſhould do after this Deed was done. The firſt queſtion was, how we might ſurprize the next Heir*, &c. *and what we ſhould do for Money and Horſes, which* (ſaith he) *if we could provide in any reaſonable meaſure, having the Heir Apparent, and the firſt knowledg of four or five days, was odds ſufficient.*

Proceedings p. 53.

This we find them conſulting how to do without ſuſpicion; for *Garnet* did hereupon write to *Baldwin* the Legier Jeſuit in the Low-Countries, in the behalf of *Catesby*, that *one ſhould move the Marqueſs for a Regiment of Horſe for* Cateſby; *not with any intent, as it was agreed, that* Cateſby *ſhould undertake the Charge, but that under colour of it, Horſes and other neceſſaries might be provided without ſuſpicion to furniſh the Traitors.* This we find further that they had done; for *Watſon* and *Clark*, Prieſts, at their apprehenſion, did affirm that there was ſome Treaſon intended by the Jeſuits, and then in hand; as for other Reaſons, ſo for that *they had collected and gathered together great ſums of Money to Levy an Army therewith when time ſhould ſerve: and had both bought up ſtore of great Horſes about the Coun-*

Proceedings p. 139.

Proceedings p. 123, 124.

try

try, and conveyed Powder and Shot, and Artillery ſecretly to their Friends, wiſhing them not to ſtir, but to keep themſelves quiet, until they heard from them. And it ſeems that they had met with good ſucceſs in it, for *there was in* June 1605 *a Conference and Conſultation betwixt* Garnet, Cateſby, *and* Treſham *concerning the ſtrength of the Catholicks in* England, *to the end that* Garnet *might by Letters ſend direct Advertiſement thereof to the Pope, for that his Holineſs would not be brought to ſhew his inclination concerning any ſuch Commotion, until ſuch time as he ſhould be certainly informed, that they had ſufficient and able Force to prevail.* By which they muſt ſuppoſe not only that the Catholick Party was ſtrong in it ſelf, but alſo that that ſtrength ſhould be in readineſs upon this occaſion, or elſe their meſſage to the Pope had been to little or no purpoſe. This Sir *Everard Digby* in his Papers often glances at. For he ſaith, *I ſhall not need to clear any living body either private or publick, for, I never named any body, but reported that thoſe that are dead did promiſe, that all Forces in thoſe Parts round about Mr.* Talbot *would aſſiſt us, but this can hurt nothing, for they openly ſpoke it.* So again, *we all thought if we could procure Mr.* Talbot *to riſe, that — and we had in our Company his Son in Law, who gave us ſome hope of, and did not much doubt it.* (This I conceive to be Mr. *Talbot* of *Peper Hill*, from what I find of him in a Manuſcript in my poſſeſſion.) Let us hear Sir *Everard* further as to this matter, *The greateſt of our buſineſs* (ſaith he) *ſtood in the poſſeſſing the Lady* Elizabeth, *who lying within eight miles of* Dunchurch, *we would have eaſily ſurprized*, &c. *If ſhe had been in* Rutland, *then* Stoaks *was near, and in either place we had taken ſufficient order to have been poſſeſſed of her.* In either place, we ſee was *ſufficient order*, but that could not have been without a Party in *Rutland*, that we read nothing of. Nay, we find Sir.

Proceedings p. 169.

Digby's Paper. 1. Paper. 9.

Paper. 9.

Everard after his Impriſonment to be not without hopes of good Seconds, and of making his terms by the fear which the Court might be in of them. For thus he ſaith,

Pap. 4. *I have ſome gueſs that it worketh, but the Lieutenant maketh all ſhew to me of the contrary; for, ſaith he, the Catholicks are ſo few in number, that they are not to be feared on any terms, for on his knowledg there were not above* 4000 *in all* England. *Beſides, he ſaid they were eaſily pacified; I would not at all argue the matter with him, but if the number ſhould be objected to me*, &c. Whereby we may perceive what his opinion was in the caſe, who could not but underſtand in ſome meaſure what the condition and ſtrength of his Party was, and what expectation they might reaſonably have from it. The Catholicks were in his Judgment many, and to *be feared*, and he did apprehend they would not be wanting to their Cauſe or them in that juncture. Which agrees with

Proceedings p. 27. what we find obſerv'd by the Secretary, that *by diverſe Advertiſements from beyond the Seas, he underſtood that the Papiſts were making preparations for ſome Combination amongſt them againſt this Parliament time, for enabling them to deliver at that time to the King, ſome Petition for Toleration of Religion: which ſhould be delivered in ſome ſuch order, and ſo well back'd, as the King ſhould be loth to refuſe their requeſts.* It's likely that it was given out amongſt, and by themſelves that there was ſuch a Petition preparing, and if they could but poſſeſs their own Party by that means, ſo as to be in expectation of it, it might ſerve to ſatisfie them about any report of an Inſurrection; and keep them from enquiring into that which they endeavoured to keep within the breaſts of a few. And this will ſerve to give light to what I have before ſaid at the beginning of this Section, *viz.* That more were concerned in this Conſpiracy than were at that time publickly known, that is, more than we read of did know

know of the very manner of a Plot, for the deſtruction of the King, &c. (as thoſe that were to ſurprize the next Heir;) and many more of a Plot to bring in and ſet up their Religion by force of Arms. To this purpoſe it was that care was taken at the firſt for aſſiſtance from abroad; and that a *continual Negotiation was maintained with* Spain *by the Jeſuits*, as *Watſon* and *Clark* did depoſe; which they ſaid *they were ſure tended to nothing, but a preparation for a Forraign Commotion*. It's true that King *James* ſpeaks favourably in this caſe of Forraign Princes, and their Miniſters; but if we may believe *Osborn*, he ſaith, *that the King of* Spain *had an Army then in* Flanders *to land, in the huge miſt ſo black a Cloud muſt needs have cauſed over the Nation*; and that when *the people heard that his Catholick Majeſty ſent an Agent on purpoſe to Congratulate King* James's *preſervation, he could not tell it the Cardinal* d'Oſſat *without laughing in his face at ſo palpable a piece of flattery*, as he conceived it to be.

Proceedings P. 123.

Speech in Parliament. Proceedings p. 11. *Osborn* King *James* S. 14. from *D'oſſat's* Letter. v. proceed. p. 167. & Abb. Antilog. p. 173. b

To this purpoſe was it that *Prayers were appointed to be uſed by thoſe that were Romiſhly affected throughout the whole Nation*, as not only *Osburn* relates, but alſo as it hath been this laſt year confirmed from *Sancta Clara's*, &c. own mouth by Mr. *S.* in his Depoſitions before the Council; and is yet to be ſeen in a Book of theirs wrote in the beginning of King *James's* Reign, where are many paſſages relating hereunto; in a conſolatory Pſalm (as it's there called) its ſaid, *Confirm your hearts in hope, for your Redemption draweth nigh. The year of Viſitation draweth to an end, and Jubilation is at hand.* England *ſhall be called a happy Realm, a bleſſed Country, a Religious People. Thoſe which knew the former glory of Religion, ſhall lift up their hands for joy to ſee it—returned again. Righteouſneſs ſhall proſper, and Infidelity ſhall be plucked up by the roots!* Again, *falſe*

ibid. S. 10.

Seven ſparks of the enkindled Soul, &c. p. 25. 26.

P. 29, 30.

Pag. 28.

Errour

Error ſhall vaniſh like ſmoke: and they which ſaw it ſhall ſay, where is it become? The Daughters of Babylon *ſhall be caſt down, and in the duſt lament their ruin. Proud Hereſie ſhall*
P. 31. *ſtrike her Sail; and groan as a Beaſt cruſhed under a Cart Wheel. — The memory of Novelties ſhall periſh with a crack, as a ruinous Houſe falling to the ground. Repent ye Seducers*
P. 32. *with ſpeed, and prevent the dreadfull Wrath of the moſt Powerable. —He will come as a flame that burneth out beyond*
P. 33. *the Furnace, his fury ſhall fly forth as Thunder, and pitch upon their tops which maligne him.* So in the fifth Pſalm of his compoſure—*They* [Enemies] *ſhall periſh in thy Fury: and melt like wax before the fire.* I have repeated the more from this Book, becauſe it was made about that ſeaſon, and alſo becauſe it's very hard to be got. From which we may obſerve (1.) That the *Jubilee* they expected was very near. (2.) That this was to be by the deſtruction of their Enemies. (3.) That it ſhould be ſuch a deſtruction as would render the Enemies uncapable of reſiſtance or recovery. (4.) The manner is as much pointed out as a thing of that nature (that was a Secret, and charily to be kept as ſuch) could be; Hereſie ſhall *vaniſh like ſmoak*; *the memory of Novelties ſhall periſh with a crack*; *he will come as a flame that burneth out beyond a Furnace*, &c. As the time drew on, ſo they were more ſecure of ſucceſs, and more confident and open in their expectations of it. Thus it was abroad; *for* Henry Flood *a Jeſuit cauſed the Jeſuits at* Liſbon *to ſpend a great deal of Money on Powder, upon a Feſtival day, a little before the Gunpowder-Treaſon in* England, *to make experiment of the force of it*; *and perſwaded one* John How *(a Merchant whom he had perverted) and diverſe other Catholicks to go over into* England, *and to expect their Redemption there (as he called it) a while*; as we have the relation of it. Thus it was alſo at home, for a few days before the

Robinſon's Anatomy of the Engliſh Nunnery at *Liſbon.*

appointed

appointed time, *Garnet* meets the other Traitors at *Coughton* in *Warwick-ſhire*, which was the place of Rendezvouz, whither they reſorted out of all Countreys. And upon the firſt of *November* *Garnet* openly prayeth for the good ſucceſs of the great Action concerning the Catholick Cauſe in the beginning of the Parliament; adding theſe Verſes of an Hymn in the end of his Prayer,—— Proceedings. p. 170.

Gentem auferte perfidam
Credentium de finibus,
Ut Chriſto laudes debitas
Perſolvamus alacriter.

This *Garnet* never denied, but pleaded that *he went thither with a purpoſe to diſſwade Mr.* Cateſby, *when he ſhould have come down —— An Anſwer moſt abſurd* (as the Earl of *Salisbury* replied to him) *ſeeing he knew* Cateſby *would not come down till the 6th of* November, *which was the day after the Blow ſhould have been given; and* Garnet *went into the Country ten days before.* If this had been his Errand, it would rather have kept him in *London*, where *Catesby* was, than carried him from it. Proceedings p. 216, 217.

As to the Prayer he uſed, he had prepared this Anſwer (as he told *Hall* in their ſecret Conference together) *It is true* (ſaith he) *that I prayed for the good Succeſs of that great Action; but I will tell them, that I meant it in reſpect of ſome ſharper Laws, which I feared they would then make againſt the Catholicks: And that anſwer ſhall ſerve well enough.* In which (1.) he plainly grants that he had another end in reciting that verſe, than he would own to them that ſhould examine him upon it. (2.) It appears that the end which he did it for, was what he was very much afraid to have diſcovered. As is evident from his own Letters, in one of Proceedings p. 189.

which

which he ſaith, *I know not how I ſhall ſatisfie them about my Journey to* Coughton; and in another, *there is a rumour of a Sermon preached by me at* Hall; *I am afraid it's that which I made at* Coughton. And he further ſaid to *Hall*, *If I can clear my ſelf of this (which I hope to do) I care not what otherwiſe they have to object againſt me*, &c. And can we then think that it was *by chance that he recited thoſe Verſes (being uſed in the* Octaves *of All-Saints day)* as his Apologiſt ſaith; or that the Prayers then uſed were *only for Toleration*, as the Engliſh Apologiſt would have it. If this had been true, what need he be ſo careful about it, what need he take ſuch care for an anſwer to it? If it had been by chance, the thing would have ſpoke for it ſelf. Or if it had been for Favour and Toleration, it was not what they needed to be afraid to own: for how could it be more dangerous to pray to God for ſucceſs in it than it would have been to frame a Petition and preſent it to their Prince for it? It ſounds ſomewhat better, which one of the above ſaid Authors doth frame upon further conſideration; that *when* Garnet *deſpair'd of hindring the Conſpirators, the good man having tried all humane wayes in vain, adds the publick prayers to his own*, ut Deus, vel peſtem eam averteret, vel ſi ita expedire videret, felicem certè funeſto facinori exitum daret; *That God would either divert it, or grant an happy concluſion to this Villanous Enterprize; and that what ever happens it might turn to the good of the Church*, as he again expounds himſelf. By which we ſee how much they are put to it that would give a colour to an ill action; how they ſay and unſay, (as this Author doth) one while its by chance, another while by choice; and how they contradict one another. Unhappy Man! that could not light upon theſe anſwers that are ſince made for him; and very fortunate are they that can frame

Abbot to Antilogia, p. 144 b. 145 b.

Apolog. pro Garneto. p. 201. *Cath. Apol.* p. 436.

Apolog. pro Garneto, p. 265, & 320.

Ibi pp. 320.

Apologies

Apologies for Actions which those that were intimately concerned in them never thought upon. But as long as this Prayer was then used, and no better account can be given of it by him or those that speak for him; we have all the reason in the world to believe it to have a respect to the Action that he, and the rest, were condemned for; and that this was a part of those *Forms of Prayer, that were sent down and used for the success of that great Errand*, as King *James* saith. It is granted then that there was an intimation given out of some great Design on foot against the Session of Parliament; but whether it did respect a Petition against *some sharper Laws, at that time feared to be made against Catholicks* (as Garnet said) or whether a *Toleration* (as another) or whether the Powder-Treason and an Insurrection upon it, I hope what hath been already said will help in good measure to resolve; although we cannot so particularly point to Time and Place, Persons, and Counsels herein concerned, & what are indeed impossible, in our Circumstances, fully to discover. The Author of the Catholick Apology saith, that *Winter, in his printed Confession descends to all particulars*; which, if true, would have afforded an excellent light to us. But that is far otherwise, for that Confession was taken the 23 of *November* 1605, not long after his apprehension; and it was immediately published to give some satisfaction to the World; but being imperfect, he was afterwards taken into further Examination, and many other things were confessed by him upon it. In his printed Confession, we have an account of the Beginning and Progress of the Gunpowder-Treason, (strictly so called), there we have an account of what was debated and projected by them in the Vault, and what Provisions they were further to make for the accomplishing the Design: but all the while there is not

Premonition to Monarchs in K. *James*'s Works. p. 291.

Cath. Apol. p. 528.

Proceed. p. 46.

Abbati Antilogia p. 113. a p. 162. b

a word of what was done in order to it. All this could not be done without Men, and Arms, Horſes and Mony; but we read nothing then of the Levies that were made, of the Horſes that were in readineſs, nor of the Treaſure that was provided (except what was ſubſcribed by *Treſham* and *Digby*) and yet we are as ſure that ſuch a Deſign was not to be carried on without theſe, as we are that there was ſuch a Deſign. Therefore it will be fit to enquire from whence it is that we have no fuller account as to theſe matters. And we ſhall be helped in this, if we conſider,

(1.) That in the beginning of ſuch a Deſign as this was, there was no need of many Aſſiſtants, (as I have before ſhewed) and ſo they took into it no more then they had preſent occaſion for, either in working in the Mine, &c. or bearing the Charge. Whatever Accomplices they had abroad, had nothing elſe to do, but to lye quiet, and wait till the hour did approach and the Signal was given. So *Watſon* the Prieſt confeſſed, that *they had brought up ſtore of great Horſes, and conveyed Powder*, &c. *ſecretly to their Friends, wiſhing them not to ſtir, but keep themſelves quiet until they heard from them.* From hence it was that either none were diſcovered but the head Contrivers of it; or thoſe, that upon preſumption of the ſucceſs above, got too early into arms, as *Grant &c.* or ſuch as being ſure, if any, to be diſcovered got into a body, and endeavoured for that reaſon to provoke others to joyn with them, as *Gatesby*, &c. but the reſt that were to lie ſtill, and to *keep themſelves quiet* till the Blow was given, thought it beſt in prudence, when it had miſcarried, to continue ſo.

Proceed. p. 124.

(2.) The encreaſing of Aſſiſtants, and the communicating of their Counſels to many at the firſt, was ſo far from being needful, that it would have been dangerous. It would

would have endangered the whole, for by that means the Design might have got Air, and been defeated. It would have endangered their Friends (if it had been discovered) and needlesly exposed them. This was the reason that *Owen* gave, why Sir *William Stanley would not be acquainted with any Plot* (though a hearty Well-wisher to it) *as having business a-foot in the Court of* England, (for fear, *i. e.* if the Plot should be discovered, and he discoverd to be privy to it, he should then lose his Interest there) and not that *he would not trust him with such a secret*, as the Author of the *Cath. Apol.* would have it. Proceed. p. 56. Cath. Apol. p. 528.

(3.) When they did communicate their Design to any, and take them into their Counsel and Assistance, it was with all the Caution imaginable. For they took an Oath of Secrecy, and the Sacrament upon it; the sum of the Oath was; Proceed. p. 41. p. 51.

You shall swear by the blessed Trinity, and by the Sacrament you now purpose to receive, never to disclose, directly or indirectly, by word or circumstance, the matter that shall be proposed to you to keep secret; nor desist from the Execution thereof, until the rest shall give you leave. Proceed. p. 166.

The like care was taken with respect to *Owen*, *Bates*, and *Digby*. And *Garnet* himself confesseth, *that by word and writing, he had often protested that he would never betray them.* So that it seems they had obliged even Him after some solemn manner to Secrecy. Ibid. p. 56. 104. & 241. Tort. Torti. p. 286.

(4.) Their Caution was further remarkable, that, neither the manner of the thing was known to many, nor the Persons frequently to each other. It was enough to prepare their Party by some general Intimations; but the *How*, or the *What*, or the *Where*, was what the principal Cabal

and Conſult kept for the moſt part ſecret to themſelves. So much is acknowledged by Sir *Everard Digby*; *As I did not know it directly, that it was approved by ſuch* (referring to ſome Perſons of great authority either in point of Dignity, Wiſdom, or Conſcience) *ſo did I hold it in my conſcience the beſt, not to know any more if I might.* So again, *This anſwer* [of Garnet's] *with Mr.* Cateſby's *proceedings with him and me, gave me abſolute belief that the matter in general was approved, though every particular was not known.* He that was privy to the main, and a principal Undertaker in one great part of the Deſign, which was to ſeize upon the Princeſs, and head the party that was thereabouts, was ignorant in ſome other things relating to it. And what he did not deſire to know if he might, others its likely might not know, if they deſired it. Thoſe that knew their own work, and were aſſigned to ſome particular Office, might know no more what *They* did, or were to do, who were above, than every little Officer in a Reigment, is acquainted with the Debates and Reſolves of a ſecret Council of War: and they that were ready to obey, and whoſe work it was to obſerve the motions of the Commander in their eye, might think no more of killing the King, or of blowing up the Parliament, than that they ſhould be blown up themſelves. The good of the Catholick Cauſe, and an Inſurrection for promoting it, is what perhaps ſuch might be truſted with the knowledg of; but the Deſtruction of the Royal Family (excepting one whoſe name they were to make uſe of) and ſetting up a Protector, might be as little known to them, as their Commanders are to us. They might have an Intimation of a great Alteration coming on, and of the happy days that were approaching; and half a ſentence might ſerve to break the buſineſs to them (whom they would prepare for it) and a nod to

Paper 1.

Paper 5.

ſupply what was farther to be revealed, but that ſhould be left till time and ſucceſs ſhould interpret it. Thus ſpeaks *Henry Morgan*, who being asked by *Hammond* the Jeſuit (unto whom he amongſt the reſt made confeſſion) what led him to joyn with *Winter*, &c. anſwered, *I did not*, ſaith he, *well underſtand it, but they told me that Religion and Life was at ſtake, and ſo it was matter of Conſcience induced me to it.* When therefore the caſe is thus, we can have no better information, or underſtand more from ſuch, then they were permitted to underſtand. Abboti. Antilog. p. 154. b.

For the ſame reaſon was it, that, as it was in the Invaſion 1588, the Conſpirators were not generally known to one another, unleſs thoſe who were of the Cabinet Council. Every one knew his immediate fellow or partner, and perhaps his Commander; but the number and ſtrength, or perſons otherwiſe he could in ſuch a caſe at beſt but ſuſpect; ſo we find that neither *Littleton*, nor *Rookwood* knew *Greenwell*. And that they did practiſe according to this Principle is evident from *Winter*'s Confeſſion, where we read that *Catesby deſired Leave, that he with Mr.* Percy, *and a third, whom they ſhould call, might acquaint whom they thought fit and willing to the buſineſs: for many, ſaid he, may be content that I ſhould know, who would not therefore that all the Company ſhould be acquainted with their names.* So Sir Everard Digby, *I knew*, ſaith he, *that* Faux *could reveal me, for I muſt make choice of two beſides Mr.* Cateſby, *which I did of him and Mr.* Winter. He had a part which he would not have every one acquainted with. But above all *Garnet* was moſt cautious herein, who was wont for a good while to converſe only with *Catesby*, and thoſe of his own order about this buſineſs; inſomuch as Sir *Everard Digby* ſaith, in the place before quoted, *I did not know it directly that it was approved by ſuch*; which he principally underſtands Cambden. Eliz. Abbot. Antilog. p. 164. b. *Winter*'s Confeſſion, in Proceed. p. 55. Paper 9. *Caſauboni Epiſt. ad Ducæum* p. 94. Pap. 1.

ſtands of *Garnet*; for he ſaith further, *Before that I knew any thing of this Plot, I did ask Mr.* Farmer [*i. e.* Garnet, for that was one of the ſix names he was called by] *what the meaning of the Pope's Brief was; he told me that they were not* (*meaning Prieſts*) *to undertake or procure any ſtirs*, &c. *and this anſwer, with Mr.* Cateſby's *proceedings with him and me, gave me abſolute belief that the matter in general was approved*, &c. So that he underſtood *Garnet*'s meaning indirectly only by the anſwer given to that queſtion, and by the account which *Catesby* alſo gave him of the Provincial's opinion in the caſe. *Catesby* being his mouth to the Company, and giving them aſſurance that it was *Garnet*'s Judgment as well as his own. This *Garnet* doth acknowledge, in a Letter of his, *what ſhould I do?* ſaith he, *firſt of all the other Conſpirators did accuſe me; and again*, Cateſby *always made uſe of my Authority with them, by which means he perſwaded almoſt every body to think well of the matter.* Thus carefully did this ſubtile Man proceed, that he might preſerve his own Honour and Life, and that which ſeemed to be as dear to him as both, the honour of his Order and Society. From all which we ſee, that though the party hung together, yet it was by ſuch ſtrings that few could perceive among themſelves, the clue being in the hands of the Chief of the Conſpiracy: and that conſequently we cannot expect that full and clear Evidence, as we might have had, had ſuch of them as *Catesby* and *Piercy* lived to make diſcovery; or had ſuch of them as lived to be examined and tryed, been inclined to it. But that we find otherwiſe. For,

Paper 9. Proceeds p. 144.

Tort. Torti. p. 286.

5. When they were diſcovered, and apprehended, they did with great obſtinacy deny every thing that either was not forced from, or could not be directly proved againſt them. Thus Faux *laid all the blame upon himſelf, and would*

Proceed. p. 38.

would confeſs none of his complices, till he was carried to the Tower and ſhewed the Rack. Thus reſolv ed, we find Sir *Everard Digby*, who ſaith, *more reaſons I had to perſwade me to this belief, than I dare utter, which I will never to the ſuſpicion of any, though I ſhould to the Rack for it.* So again, *I will do as much as my Partner wiſheth, and it will then appear, that I ſhall not hurt or accuſe one man: and however I might in general poſſeſs them with fear, in hope to do the Cauſe good; yet my care was ever to loſe my own Life, rather than hurt the unworthieſt Member of the Catholick Church. Tell her I have ever loved her and her Houſe*, &c. *and I will not live to manifeſt the contrary.* Where we find that they were much afraid of him, who was able to do them a great deal of miſchief from the knowledge that he had of the Party and the Deſign; and who perhaps they thought might be induced to it from the deſire of life, being but about 24 years old, and one of a plentiful eſtate; but he ſhews himſelf to be true to his Principles and Engagements. Of the like temper and reſolution do we find Mr. *Habington*, for ſaith he, *My Lord Chief Juſtice fell in the end to two points. The one, If Mr.* Teſmond *ever moved me to joyn with Sir* Everard Digby, *Mr.* Cateſby, *Mr.* Winter *and others in Rebellion againſt the King, but that they could not prove; the other If I knew of Mr.* Garnet's *being in my houſe. I too confident they would not confeſs any thing againſt me, denied them both.* He doth not deny but that the whole was true; only the one wanted proof, and he did believe the other would never be confeſſed. And he had good reaſon for it; for he tells us, that it was mutually reſolved by *Garnet*, *Hall* and himſelf, that if thoſe two were at any time taken in his Houſe, *we ſhould*, ſaith he, *abſolutely renounce all knowledg and acquaintance one with another.* Of this we have alſo another inſtance in one *Owen*, who

Paper 1. Paper 9. Preface to his papers. Mſſ. *H.*

was

Thuanus was *Garnet's* man, that rather then be tortured (which he was in fear of) and any thing ſhould be wreſted from him to the damage of his Party, ript up his own Belly, and ſo died; by the Wound, I ſay, which he gave himſelf, and not by having his Bowels forced out by Torture, as *Garnet's* lying Apologiſt would perſwade the World.

Abboti Antil. p. 114.

Apol. pro *Garneto.*

But amongſt all their Accomplices they were moſt of all bent to conceal their Prieſts, and by no means to own any of them to be in the Confederacy. There was nothing Sir *Everard Digby* ſeem'd to be more concern'd to clear himſelf of the ſuſpicion of offending in; *As yet*, ſaith he, *they have not got of me the affirming that I know any Prieſt particularly, nor ſhall ever do to the hurt of any, but my ſelf. And I have before all the Lords cleared all the Prieſts in it for any thing I know.* And this he was ſo reſolved in, that he would *not utter any thing to the ſuſpicion of any ſuch, though*, ſaith he, *I ſhould to the Rack for it.* And to teſtifie his affection further that way, he was reſolved to clear them at the Bar, for thus ſaith he; *Sure I am that I never did yet confeſs to know him* [one that he calls Brother, who is a Prieſt, and, by his being ſaid to *give the Sacrament to five at one time*, I conceive is meant *Gerard*, who did adminiſter it to *Catesby* and four others of the Conſpirators at the beginning of the Plot] *nor any of the three. I do it not in regard of my ſelf, as it ſhall appear at the Bar: for whatſoever I could do for him or any of his* [i. e. his Order] *I would do it though it coſt me never ſo much ſufferance: but I have been ſparing in that, becauſe I may do more in publick, which will I think be beſt as you wiſh, I will do*, &c. This alſo he did, *ſeeking by Proteſtations to clear all Jeſuites of thoſe practices which they themſelves confeſſed, ex ore proprio*; as the Earl of *Salisbury* ſaid. In order to which they thought it allowable, nay, praiſe-worthy, to lye, and perjure themſelves.

Paper 1.

Ibid. & pap. 7.

Proceed. p. 166.

Morus in Hiſt. ſaith *Gerard* p. 314. was very familiar with *Digby.*

Paper 5.

Proceedings p. 220.

As

As to the former we have too many inſtances in Sir *Everard's* Papers, for he denies that ever he took the Sacrament to keep ſecret the Plot; *becauſe*, ſaith he, *I would avoid the queſtion; at whoſe hands it were.* He denied that *Father Wally* [*i. e. Garnet*, for that is another of his names] *was at* Coughton *with him*; though *Garnet* confeſſed it afterwards himſelf. He affirmed that he did not *know Darcy* [who was alſo ſo called] to be the ſame with *Garnet, and that he did not take him to be a Prieſt*; though he was very well acquainted with him. And if we will put their Principles to it, we may ſee how far they will go in *Treſham*; who when he had before let fall ſome words tending to make *Garnet* guilty of the Spaniſh Treaſon; rather than he would be guilty (as he and his Wife thought) of ſo great impiety, as to bring a Prieſt into danger by a true accuſation, choſe to perjure himſelf, and as he was a dying man (for within three hours after he died) and hoped for Salvation, did acquit him of it, ſaying, *that he had not ſeen the Provincial in ſixteen years before*; whereas by *Garnet's* own confeſſion they had had frequent Converſation with each other for the three years laſt paſt. But if theſe Gentlemen (who uſually ſtand upon the honour of their word) *would go about to excuſe all Jeſuits how foul ſoever, out of an opinion that it is meritorious ſo to do, at ſuch time as they had no hope of themſelves*, as the Earl of *Salisbury* obſerved; Then what may not be expected from the Jeſuits themſelves, who had ſo powerfully inſtilled theſe Principles into perſons otherwiſe generous, and when their own life and honour, and the honour of their Religion and Society came deeply to beconcerned. We may then expect obſtinacy and ſubtilty ſhould meet together, and all that Art and Nature can do ſhall be made uſe of to clear them of the ſcandal and danger that would otherwiſe

Paper

Paper 3.

Paper 7.

Proceed. p. 220. 1.

wise befall them. And we shall not fail of an example herein, if we do but peruse the Examinations, and Trial, the Answers, and Confessions of *Garnet*, who at this time was the Provincial of that Order in *England*. We shall find his great care was not so much to speak Truth, as to serve his Cause, and excuse himself; and if he could but dress up a Story, and make what he calls *Formalis Fabula* (in one of his Letters that was intercepted), he would not want Confidence, and the most powerful Asseverations to confirm it. I shall not trouble the Reader with the petty ways he had of saying and unsaying as might serve his turn; *As when before the Lords Commissioners he truly and freely confessed his Treasons, being (as himself under his own hand confessed) overwhelmed, Tanta nube Testium, yet, ad faciendum populum*, to delude the People and preserve his own Reputation; *in his Letters which he wrote abroad, he cleareth himself of the Powder-Treason*, as Sir *Edward Coke* relates. These are Tricks not to be taken notice of in comparison of the boldness which he at other times did take to excuse and clear himself. Is he charged with having writ Letters to *Greenwell*, and when he had denied it, required to give his answer *upon the word of a Priest*? he again denies it obstinately; and yet the Commissioners had then the Letters in possession; upon which, he contented himself to say, that *he denied it, because he thought they had them not.* Is he demanded whether *Hall* and He had conference together, and desired not to equivocate? how *stiffly did he deny it upon his Soul, reiterating it with so many detestable Execrations, as the Earl of* Salisbury *said, it wounded their Hearts to hear him*; and yet when it was proved to his face, confessed the thing; as not only the *Proceedings*, but his own Letters do declare; coming off with this *Salvo*, *That when any one is charged before a Magistrate,*

Abboti Antil. p. 137. a 146. b.

Proceed. p. 174.

Abboti. Antil. p. 136. b.

Proceed. p. 195.

Abboti. Antil. p. 146. a.

ſtrate, he is not bound to anſwer before Witneſſes are produced; quia nemo tenetur prodere ſeipſum, becauſe no one is bound to betray himſelf. This is a new way of arguing, but it's not the only ſingular thing befel him in that kind; For whereas all Mankind do practiſe Sincerity at their death; yet even then he could not forget to prevaricate; for he ſaid upon the ſcaffold immediately before his Execution, that *he only had a general knowledg of the Fact by Mr.* Cateſby, &c. *and what he knew in particulars was in Confeſſion:* when yet the *King had under his own Hand-writing to the contrary* (as the Recorder wiſhed him to remember) as ſhall be ſhewed in the next Section. So that upon the whole he abundantly made good what the Earl of *Northampton* ſaid to him at his tryal, *I confeſs that never any man in your ſtate gave leſs hold or advantage to Examiners, than you have done in the whole courſe of Proceeding, to us that were in Commiſſion: ſometime by forſwearing, as upon the Confeſſion of* Hall *your fellow: ſometime by diſſembling, as about the places of your Rendezvous, which was the Lapwings Neſt: ſometime by artificial Equivocation: ſometime by ſophiſticating true Subſtances: ſometime by adding falſe qualities: yet* ſat ſupereſt, *as may appear, to the defeat of your Inventions, and the defence of the Kings Majeſty*; quia magna eſt veritas, & prævalet.

Caſaub. Epiſt. ad Ducæum, p. 117, 118.

Proceedings *p.* 225,

Proceedings P. 201.

Now if we lay all theſe things together, and conſider, how few the deſign, (as far as it went), needed to have actually concerned in it, how cautious they were in chooſing perſons for their turn, and in obliging them to ſecrecy when they were choſen; how cunning they were to ſhew the Plot by parts, and in diſpoſing of Perſons; ſo that few amongſt them did know, and ſo ſhould not betray each other, (if through fickleneſs or fear they might be ſo diſpoſed); how firm and reſolute they were upon

diſcovery and apprehenſion; it is ſo far from being an objection againſt the Hiſtory of this Plot, which makes it popiſh, that ſo few were diſcovered; that it's matter of wonder there is ſo much reaſon as there is to prove it to be ſo. Now it may be worth our while a little to conſider how they came by ſo much evidence as they had in the Caſe.

As,

(1.) Some things were evident of themſelves, and not to be denied, they being taken in the fact; as it was with *Faux*, and thoſe of them that were openly in Arms.

(2.) Other things were confeſſed, for fear of the Rack, or the little taſt they had of it; as it was with *Faux* in his firſt Confeſſion.

(3.) So much Intelligence being obtained; the Commiſſioners ſhewed this to the others, and ſo drew them on to confeſs more. This is one of the reaſons *Garnet* gives to excuſe himſelf for confeſſing ſo much as he did, in one of his Letters that was intercepted. This is the account he alſo gave of himſelf as to that matter at his death. Being upon the Gibbet he ſaid—— *to whom* [the Lords of the Privy-Council] *I remember my humble duty, and I am ſorry that——I did diſſemble with them; but I did not think that they had ſuch proof againſt me, till it was ſhewed me: but when that was proved, I held it more honour for me at that time to confeſs, than before to have accuſed.*

Proceedings p. 227.

(4.) Sometimes it was by ſeveral Examinations, at ſome diſtance of time; this put *Garnet* to it; as he acknowledgeth in his Letter to Mrs *Ann*; *Let any one think*, ſaith he, *after 23 ſeveral Examinations by the wiſeſt men of the Nation, beſides particular Diſcourſes with the Lieutenant of the Tower, what could be done.* Its nothing but truth can in ſuch a caſe make a Man conſtant to himſelf, and he therefore that had

Ibid.

had nothing but, what he calls, *formalis fabula*, a forged ſtory to ſave himſelf, muſt needs be often at a loſs. As it happened to him; for ſometime he would ſay *Greenwel* told him the buſineſs in Confeſſion, ſometimes it was by way of Conſultation: one while upon the word of a Prieſt he burnt the Popes Breves as ſoon as King *James* was Proclaimed; another time he burnt them at *Coughton*. *Tortura Torti p.285. Abboti Antil. p.137.*

(5.) Sometimes they did diſcover themſelves through want of underſtanding one another. As it was with *Garnet*, who knowing *Catesby* was dead, and thinking *Greenwell* had made his eſcape, concluded he might then ſafely ſay any thing, and ſo would own no other knowledg of the Plot but what he had in confeſſion: but afterwards underſtanding (through Miſinformation) that he was taken, leaſt *Greenwell* ſhould confeſs and prevent him in it, he then acknowledged that he had it out of Confeſſion. *Tortura Torti. p.285.*

(6.) Sometimes, a Confeſſion was extorted by confronting of Evidence. So when *Garnet* declared that he had no deſign of writing in behalf of *Baynham*, but to prefer him to a Command; being oppoſed herein by the Teſtimony of *Faux*, who ſaid that he was ſent to *Rome* on purpoſe to implore the Pope's aid for their Aſſiſtance upon the ſucceſs of their Deſign; he did then confeſs it. So it was betwixt *Hall* and him; as it follows. *Abboti Anti.p.141.a*

(7.) Sometimes a diſcovery was made by the intercepting of their Letters or diſcourſe; and both theſe befel *Garnet*. For undertaking to write a Letter to one *Rookwood* a Prieſt, at that time in the Gate-houſe; and another to Mrs. *Ann Vaux*; and a third to the Fathers and Brethren, &c. they were all taken, and much diſcovered by them. Again, having a mind to diſcourſe with *Hall* the Jeſuit, then alſo a Priſoner in the *Tower*; and prevailed with the Keeper Proceedings p.173,200. *Theſe are quoted often in* Abboti Antilog. *and* Tortura Torti, *&c.*

Proceed. p. 189. & 199.

Keeper to find out a way for it. The Keeper did so, but withal discovered it; and two Gentlemen of unquestionable Reputation being placed secretly within the hearing of it, gained considerable particulars against him, which he was forced by that means to confess. By these and the like means was their obstinacy and subtilty conquer'd, and the Intelligence drawn from them which we have as to this matter. But where these reasons were not, we are little beholden to them. For what is said of *Garnet* in a more especial manner; that *there was no Truth gained from him, which he did not find himself constrained to confess by Witnesses and Testimonies of undoubted Credit*; is also in proportion true of all the rest, forasmuch as I can perceive by the most diligent Enquiry.

Casa-uboni Epist ad Ducæum p. 116.

Abboti Antil. p. 136. b.

The Author of the *Cath. Apol.* saith, *that there were no more Conspirators, because no Gentleman was discovered,* [besides those that were killed, and taken, and *Owen*] *which could not happen out of design to save their Friends.* This he offers two reasons for: (1.) *Because several particulars (which might have been easily kept secret) were revealed, as may be found in their printed Confessions.* (2.) *The Malefactors did accuse their Confessors, and therefore certainly they would never have spared others, had there been any guilty.*

Cath. Apol. p. 401.

Rom. Chur. vindicated p. 65.

This cannot be supposed, saith another, *that they had not Tenderness enough to leave any other undiscovered; whose Conscience compelled them, to expose their own Confessors to their deserved Penalty.* To which the last Author adds, (3.) *That not one Nobleman, or any other of the Catholick Gentry did know or approve of that wicked conspiracy; because the Catholick Lords* [all of them, saith the Cath. Apol.] *were to have undergone the same barbarous Fate with the rest.*

Cath. Apol. p. 406.

But I cannot conceive the force of the first Argument; for what if there were *several particulars revealed by them, which*

which might easily have been kept secret? Might not that be so, and yet there be nothing of Sincerity and Conscience in the case? Might it not be done for the connexion of one thing to another? (which often times makes Circumstances to be necessary, as it is there.) Might it not be done to impose upon the Examiners, and to let them think that when they are so exact in the less, they will not let slip the greater? And have we not just cause to think this to be the reason, rather than what the Apologist doth offer for it? If indeed these printed Confessions had been so exact (as he will needs suppose) then there had been some colour for what he says; but when the contrary is manifest, his Argument falls of it self. And that this is so, appears from what I have before observed, for *Faux* and *Winter* upon second Examination confessed more; and what they did afterward confess was so material, as could not be forgotten by them before, had they not been willing to have concealed it, if they well could. But again, where is the consequence (letting alide the conscience in it) that because they did sometimes let fall some things of little importance, therefore they must needs also reveal things of an higher nature; therefore they must betray those Friends, who had not by any overt Acts discovered themselves? So that before this Argument must be granted, we must grant that *Faux* and *Winter* were privy to the whole Plot, and that part in which they were not personally concerned, as well as what they were. We must grant, that they made conscience of not concealing any part or particular of it, (as far as they knew); and we must further grant that all these particulars are contained in their printed Confessions. Or else we may fairly conclude, that notwithstanding there are *several Particulars revealed in their printed Confessions (which might have been easily kept secret)* they

they might *have a design to save their Friends*; and there might be more Persons in the Plot than are recorded in their Confessions; and (which is pity) a pretty Argument is thereby lost; and which is worse than that, it might be, a *Popish and general Plot* notwithstanding.

But however, will they say, if they were sincere in those Confessions, then a part of it still remains good; and what greater Argument can there be for that they were sincere, than that *they did accuse their own Confessors* (which is a thing, that nothing but the power of truth can force them to) and if they did not spare them, they would certainly not spare others. In answer to which I shall consider,

1. Whether they did thus accuse their Confessors?

2. Whether if they did, *their Conscience* (as is pleaded) *compelled them to it?*

As to the first,

It is notorious, that there were several of them did not at all accuse their Confessors; this is certain as to Sir *Everard Digby*, that he (against his own knowledg) did all he could upon his Trial to vindicate them: And if we peruse the printed Confessions, we shall not find a word to that purpose. If *Faux* and *Winter* did afterwards accuse any, it was what they were, if not very backward and cold, yet very imperfect in. For the Earl of *Salisbury* tells Garnet; *Let it not be forgotten that this interlocution of yours with* Hall, *overheard by others, appears to be* digitus Dei: *for thereby had the Lords some light and proof of matter against you, which might have been discovered otherwise by violence and coercion.* Implying, as *Morus* observes, that *they had not matter before sufficient to charge him with.* The great thing charged upon him seems to be, that some of the others confessed, that *his name was used to them by* Catesby *to justifie the lawfulness of the Act*, as *Garnet* in one of

Proceedings p. 194.

Mori Hist. p. 315.

Antilog. p. 146. b.

of his Letters doth ſay; but what he there adds, that *All did ſo confeſs*, is manifeſtly falſe. Since, beſides what is aboveſaid of Sir *Everard*, *Morus* doth declare, that *nothing was confeſſed againſt the Jeſuits, but what* Bates *ſaid of* Greenwel [or *Greenway*] viz. that he was in the company of the Conſpirators; and which Sir *Everard* ſaid, he heard he ſhould confeſs of *Wally* (or *Garnet*.) So that when theſe late Apologiſts ſay *the Traitors did all accuſe and expoſe their Confeſſors*, its more than was true, and more than the Jeſuits will thank them for. For all of them that hitherto pleaded the cauſe of the Jeſuits do ſay the contrary; *More* ſhall ſpeak for the reſt; who ſaith, *for ought I can perceive, the accuſation of the Jeſuits hath no other foundation than the Confeſſion of* Bates, *who is ſaid to have accuſed* Greenway, *&c.* and he would perſwade us alſo, that *Perſons of good credit reported that while in Priſon, he confeſſed that he had accuſed him falſly.* How true this is I ſhall afterward conſider; but I produce this to ſhew, what contrary things theſe men will ſay if it may ſerve their Cauſe; when in the laſt age it was pleaded none did accuſe the Jeſuits, and when in ours they would have it that they were accuſed by all.

Mori Hiſt. p. 314.

Digby's Paper. 3.

Mori Hiſt. p. 313.

Ibid. p. 314.

But (2.) Supposing they did accuſe their Confeſſors, yet it was not becauſe their *Conſcience did compel them* to it; This *More* will have them ſo far from, that he ſaith, *Bates did accuſe them in hope of life, and afterward recanted.* But whether *Bates* did ſo or no; yet in point of reaſon it is evident that it was not from any ſuch motive: for then they that thus accuſed them would have repented of the Fact it ſelf, and look'd upon it as an Evil, & fit to be repented of. For what could move them in point of Conſcience thus to *expoſe them*, if it was not that the Fact was evil, which their Confeſſors together with them had been complicated in? But this we find, them far from acknowledg-

ing: For Sir *Everard Digby* (though for a little while after his impriſonment he doubted of the warrantableneſs of it, yet being confirmed in it by the Letters of *Gerard*, whom he calls Brother) was ſo well ſatisfied, that he calls it the *beſt Cauſe*. Of the like mind were *Robert Winter* and *Faux*; for having found an opportunity for Conference in the Tower from the nearneſs of their Lodgings, *Robert Winter* ſaid to *Faux*, that *he and* Catesby *had Sons, and that Boys would be Men, and that he hoped they would revenge the Cauſe: Nay that God would raiſe up Children to* Abraham *out of ſtones.* And they added, that *they were ſorry, that no body did ſet forth a Defence or Apologie of their Action; but yet they would maintain the Cauſe at their deaths.* And ſo it's likely they did, for King *James* ſaith, that *ſome of them continued ſo obſtinate, that even at their death, they would not acknowledg their fault; but in their laſt words, immediately before the expiring of their Breath, refuſed to condemn themſelves, and crave pardon for their deed, except the Romiſh Church ſhould firſt condemn it.*

V. Preface to his papers. & Paper. 1.

Pap. 4.

Proceedings p. 125 & 126.

K. *James*'s Premonition, in his Works. p. 291.

Of this we have a particular example in *Grant*, when being admoniſhed juſt before his death by a learned and reverend Perſon to ask pardon of God for his offence; he confidently and readily replied; *That he was ſo well ſatisfied that there was no ſin in the caſe, that on the contrary, he thought that he deſerved ſo well for that generous and brave Attempt, that it would abundantly ſuffice for a ſatisfaction for all the ſins of his whole life.* So little did they generally repent of the Fact, and ſo little reaſon have we to think that what they confeſſed proceeded from compulſion of Conſcience; but rather that it was from ſome other reaſon; as fear of the Rack, or ſurprize, or becauſe others had confeſſed, or that they themſelves had given occaſion from what they had before confeſſed for a further

Caſaub. Epiſt. ad Ducæum p. 91.

ther enquiry, *&c.* So it happened with *Faux* and *Th. Winter* who at the firſt accuſed none of the Jeſuits; but having confeſſed that they received the Sacrament, that led the way to a further Examination about the Prieſts, whom they at laſt confeſſed alſo. This Sir *Everard* foreſaw, and therefore he took another courſe, (as is before obſerved) and denied that he had *received the Sacrament at all upon this occaſion.* Now that what I have before ſaid is true, will appear from the behaviour of *Stephen Littleton*, who though he had confeſſed that he ſent to *Hall* (after their defeat) for advice whither to retire; and had, with others, acknowledged that he and the reſt had confeſſed to *Hammond* (a little before) yet he *abſolutely refuſed to anſwer whether he received Abſolution from him for the Fact, or had his Conſcience ſatisfied by him about it*; and added, *that he would rather dye than reveal the ſecrets of that matter.* And *Robert Winter*, who had at firſt confeſſed that *all the Jeſuits named, were privy to and engaged with them in the Conſpiracy*; yet, as is before obſerved, *did maintain their Cauſe, and reſolve to defend it at his death.* Truly I find none of them that had any touch of Remorſe but *Rookwood* and *Tho. Winter*; and for the latter it is obſervable that when he ſaid, *I ſhall ſet down mine own Accuſation*, &c. *which I ſhall the faithfuller do, ſince I ſee ſuch courſes are not pleaſing to Almighty God*; Yet was ſo far from doing ſo, that he ſpeaks there not one word of *Gerard* (whom upon a further Examination he diſcovered) or any other Jeſuit; ſo that his Confeſſion at that time ſeems rather to be owing to his ſecond reaſon that he there gives, than his firſt, and that is, *becauſe the moſt material parts had bin already confeſſed.*

Abboti Anlog. p. 159. b

Ibid. 152.
Ibid. 155.
Ibid. p. 154. b.

Ibid. p. 154. a.

Proceedings p. 46.
Ibid. 154. b

To conclude this, when the Traitors did accuſe their Confeſſors, either they did this ſincerely, and becauſe *compelled by their Conſcience*, or not; if not (as I have ſhewed)

then what doth the Argument ſignify; that *if the tenderneſs of their Conſcience did compel them to expoſe their own Confeſſors, then they would not have ſpared others.* But if they did thus confeſs them ſincerely and out of Conſcience, then their Confeſſors were guilty of what theſe charged them with. And then let them take their choice.

Rom. Ch. vindicated p. 64. 65.

I ſhall now proceed to the conſideration of the laſt Argument, by which they would endeavour to prove that it was not a *Popiſh Plot*, and, that not any beſides the above-ſaid Conſpirators were concerned in this Treaſon, *viz.* that *all the Catholick Lords were to have undergone the ſame barbarous Fate with the reſt.* Suppoſing this was true (as it is not) yet is not the Pope's Intereſt to be promoted and the cauſe of the Jeſuits maintained, though the Nobility of their own way be deſtroyed? Was there not a time when in an intended Invaſion to be carried on by force from abroad, and a ſecret Conſpiracy at home, that it was not the Perſons they regarded, but Intereſt? *It was to make room, place and ſpace for my Maſter*, ſaid the Duke of *Medina*. And might not this be the caſe in 1605, as well as it was in 88? And ſo their Religion be thereby ſettled, and place and ſpace made for the *Maſter* of *Rome*, as well as *Spain*, and Authority and Power gain'd to the *Society*; it is no matter though the *Innocent periſh with the Nocent*, and Friends as well as Foes fall by the ſame Stroak. This was foreſeen in the preſent Conſpiracy, and when it was made a caſe of Conſcience by *Catesby*, it was reſolved in the affirmative by *Garnet*, that *for the good and promoting of the Catholick Cauſe againſt Hereticks (the neceſſity of time and occaſion ſo requiring) it was lawful among many Nocents to deſtroy and take away ſome Innocents alſo.* So that it might be a popiſh Plot, though the *Catholick Lords*, *and all the Catholick Lords* were to periſh with the other.

Watſon's Quodlibets p. 177. Proceed. p. 156. & p. 249.

Proceed. p. 165.

But

But notwithſtanding what theſe Writers do ſay, that *the Catholick Lords, and all the Catholick Lords, were to be thus barbarouſly dealt with*; yet we ſhall find that this is a great miſtake in matter of Fact alſo. The Confeſſion of *Thomas Winter* (if they had read it) would have informed them otherwiſe; for, *whilſt we were in the Vault, we diſcourſed*, ſaith he, *what Lords we ſhould ſave from the Parliament; which was firſt agreed in general; as many as we could that were Catholicks, or ſo diſpoſed: but after we deſcended to particulars.* And Sir Everard Digby doth give a clear account of this matter; *I dare not*, ſaith he, *take that courſe I could, to make it appear leſs odious; for divers were to have been brought out of the danger, which now would rather hurt them than otherwiſe. I do not think there would have been three worth ſaving that ſhould have been loſt.* To this purpoſe one of them that was privy to it took the way of writing to the Lord *Monteagle*. Other Lords, as the hour drew on, might be admoniſhed of it, or called off (as an Author of theirs ſaith they were to be); or perhaps ſuch a kind of Letter might have been thought of alſo, as the Author of the *Catholick Apology* hath drawn up to ſerve upon ſuch an occaſion; and which he thinks *would certainly have kept the Perſon, to whom it was written, at home.* By one, or the other, or the like waies, we ſee that care was taken to ſecure all thoſe that would be true, or whom they could preſume would be aſſiſting to them. And when this was done, if the Author of the *Catholick Apology*, that tells us that *the Catholick Noblemen then were not only conſiderable, but the conſiderableſt of the Nation; the firſt Marquis (there being at that time no Duke but the late King) the firſt Earl, and the firſt Baron being of that Profeſſion*; If after theſe, and the four other Lords he there names, he had filled up the Catalogue of all thoſe that

Proceedings. p. 54.

Paper 9.

Eudæm. Apol p. 240.

Cath. Apol. p. 408.

Cath. Apol. p. 400.

that were profeſſedly of his Religion (beſides what were ſo diſpoſed) we might by deducting of *three* (according to Sir *Everard's* calculation) have told him the number and quality of the Noblemen that were to be ſaved; and by doing ſo, have ſhewed him that it was ſo far from being true, that *all the Catholick Lords were to have been deſtroyed*, as he ſaith, that ſcarcely one of them would have undergone that Fate; and ſo it might be *a Popiſh Plot, and an univerſal Popiſh Plot*, without a *contradiction* or a *riddle*, notwithſtanding what that Author hath ſaid thereupon.

As for what he there ſaith, that *a Plot is looked upon as general, when a good number of the chief of a Party are intrigued in the Deſign*, I grant that ſuch a Plot is general (if with them men of other ſtates and degrees generally joyn with them in it) but yet it may be a general Plot of a Party, and the Nobility not be *intrigued* in it; and they may be intrigued, and yet it not be known. For what more common then to ſend a Forlorn-Hope before, that are willing to venture their Lives and Fortunes, and who if they periſh, periſh alone? What more common than for perſons to have ſuch intimations given them of a Plot as are ſufficient to prepare them; and again to give ſuch intimations of their conſent and approbation, as ſhall be ſufficient to aſſure the undertakers of their aſſiſtance; ſuch as ſhall ſecure the one, if it ſhould happen to be diſcovered; and warrant the other to go on with the greater reſolution? What more common than to have a general notice of this, and to be willingly ignorant of the particulars (as hath been already obſerved?) And ſo the Lords might know of a Deſign in general; but that this was to be begun by blowing up the Parliament-Houſe, it was not neceſſary they ſhould know; becauſe they were to be kept out of that danger; nor fit to know

that

that they might not, if it miſcarried, be brought into another. What more ordinary than to raiſe and joyn Contributions, and covertly to convey it, ſo that it ſhall ſerve the Cauſe without hurting themſelves? And though this was not then publickly known, yet afterward their Relations and Deſcendents found that it muſt be by ſome ſuch ſecret ways that their Eſtates were broken and impaired; and I am aſſured that ſome of them (as Captain *Dingly* told a relation of his, whom he believed for that reaſon, and others to be concerned in it) did ſmell of Gunpowder ſome years after, if not to this day. And if this may be (as often it is) then a *good number of the chief of the Party might be intrigued in the Deſign*, and little knowledg of it come abroad then, or down to us now.

The Parliament then was to receive a terrible blow, and yet they ſhould not ſee who hurt them; for there was no appearance of any ſtir; as the perſon that wrote the Letter to the Lord *Monteagle* ſaith. There were indeed ſtore of great Horſes bought up, and Powder, *&c.* conveyed ſecretly to their Friends; but at the ſame time they were wiſhed not to ſtir, untill they heard further; as I have ſhewed from *Watſons* Information. It was ſomewhat ſtrange, that when the Roman-Catholicks were *prepared for Tumult, and hardly to be reſtrained by the Jeſuits themſelves*, as *Garnet* in his Letters complains; and were neither then wanting *in Courage or Force*, as another ſaith; that yet they ſhould be ſo profoundly quiet about that time; and that the Broils that were in *Wales* in the *May* before, ſhould be ſo eaſily and ſuddenly huſh'd, as not to be obſerved by the Government. But this ſhewed the diligence and dexterity of thoſe that were concerned, and we have the reaſon of it: For *Garnet* wrote to the Pope that a *ſtrict Order might come for the ſtaying all Commotions* of the Catholicks

Proceedings p. 29.

Ibid. p. 124.

Abboti Antil. p. 149. a and 165. b Eudæm. Apol.

Proceed. p. 168. Antilog. p. 138. b.

Antilog. p. 138. b

tholicks here in *England, intending to ſet their whole reſt of the Romiſh Cauſe on the Powder Plot*, as *Faux* confeſſed; and *lull us aſleep in ſecurity in reſpect of their diſſembling quietneſs and conformity*, as Sir *Edward Coke* ſaith. The Jeſuits by the management of *Gerard*, had been the means of bringing *Watſon's* Treaſon to light, and him to the Gallows (as *More* doth own) thereby at once revenging themſelves upon him for all the ſtories that he had told of them in Print; and alſo ſecuring to themſelves ſome reſpect and reputation from the Government for their ſeeming fidelity: And to this they added all their endeavours to keep things quiet, and themſelves by that means free from ſuſpicion. But now that all this was but a piece of Art, appears;

Proceed. p. 168.

Mori. Heſt. P. 325.

Antilog. p. 160. b

(1.) Becauſe all the while, even for twenty months ſpace, *Garnet* kept *Gatesby's* practices ſecret; which, by his own confeſſion, he did aſſuredly believe to be of very deſtructive conſequence.

Ibid. P. 137. b & 138.

(2.) Becauſe by the Pope's Letters to him it appears, tho care was taken as to *general Commotions*, yet as to particulars it was then ſaid, there needed no prohibition, becauſe what was ſaid about generals would ſuffice. The meaning of which, will appear from what Sir *E. Digby* ſaith, *Paper 9.*

Ibid 139 b

(3.) It appears that the Commotions in *Wales* were rather huſh'd than diſheartned, and rather put off than brought to an end. For we find, after the diſcovery of the *Powder Plot*, and the defeating that part of the Deſign, the Traitors had an expectation of aſſiſtance from *Wales*; and therefore *Digby* and *Gatesby*, &c. did write to *Garnet* that he would go along with them thither, where they might expect help; and uſe his intereſt with theirs to make an Inſurrection, and to put that fire, which was before cautiouſly raked up, into an open flame.

Antilog. p. 149. *a* & 163. b

If

If we now reflect upon what hath been ſaid in this Section, and conſider the Deſign it ſelf, which, in the beginning might be managed by few, yet, in the proceſs of it, did require the help of many to take it up, to back and carry it on. If we further conſider the perſons at firſt engaged in it; who were not only Men of experience, but alſo experienced in the ſame way, and would not venture upon ſuch a Deſign without a ſufficient Force. If we laſtly conſider the Proviſions that were made for ſuch a Deſign; together with the other Circumſtances relating to it, it will appear that what the Author of the Catholick Apology ſaith, *viz.* that *it is impoſſible that the Catholick Party ſhould be engaged in it*, is ſo far from being true; that it may with much greater aſſurance be affirmed, to be *impoſſible that the Catholick Party ſhould not have been involved in it.*

Cath. Apol. p. 402.

SECT. III.

Thoſe that fled and ſuffered for it, were really guilty.

THE flight of Perſons upon a Charge and Accuſation, though it is not always a certain ſign of Guilt, yet is ſo generally preſumed to be ſo, upon the ſuppoſition that he that flies is conſcious to himſelf of being criminal; that it's a Queſtion always asked upon Trial, *Whether the Perſon fled for it?* But becauſe this is only a general and not an univerſal mark of Guilt, I ſhall not take the advantage of it, but leave that for another and more certain Evidence, which is, *Good and ſufficient Teſtimony.* *Thuanus* relates that many were baniſhed or fled upon this account; and that when ſome of them were courteouſly received

Hiſt. 1605.

by *Dominick Wilkes*, then Governour of *Calice*, and were pitied by him as they were thus forced to an Exile; one of them smartly replied, *that is the least part of our grief; but that which doth afflict us indeed, is that we could not accomplish so brave and good a Design.* These were so daring as to own and glory in it; but, on the contrary, the Jesuits, *Gerard* and *Greenwel*, when it miscarried, and brought the ill opinion of the world upon them and their Society, did disown it, and would neither be said to encourage it or know it, however they might have been pleased with it, if it had succeeded. And therefore it will be necessary to shew that they were really as guilty, though they fled from the persuit of Justice, as the others that were taken and suffered by it: But because much of this story will fall in with *Garnet's*, I shall chuse rather to begin with his.

That any of the Lay-men that suffered upon this account were not really guilty, I think no body undertakes to prove. Only *More* doth offer somewhat to lessen the Guilt of Sir *Everard Digby*, making him to say at his Trial, that *he was guilty only of concealing the Plot, but otherwise he had done and conspired nothing.* But this Account is partly imperfect, and partly false. Sir *Everard* indeed upon his Apprehension, did deny, with *solemn Protestations and Execrations*, that he was privy to the *Plot of Powder*; but being herein confronted by the Testimony of *Faux*, who confessed that Sir *Everard* told him when he was at his House, *that he was afraid the Powder was dank, &c.* he at last did acknowledge it, and upon his Trial confessed the Indictment; which none of the rest did.

Mori Hist. p. 312.

Antilog. p. 110. a. Proceedings P. 140.

Ibid. p. 127.

By which instance, we may conceive what kind of dealing we are to expect when we come to the case of the Persons of their *own Order*, when the Jesuits write after this rate about the case of those that are not. For of them

them also we shall find several concerned; as Father *Creswell* Legier Jesuit in *Spain*, Father *Baldwin* Legier in *Flanders*, *Parsons* at *Rome*, *Garnet* Provincial in *England*, *Gerrard*, *Tesmond* [alias *Greenway*,] *Hammond*, *Hall* and others, *who are known to have dealt and passed through the whole Action*, as Sir *Edward Coke* saith. But amongst those, *Garnet*, *Gerard*, *Tesmond*, *Hammond* and *Hall* were more immediately concerned; and *Garnet* and *Hall* were taken and Executed for it. But, notwithstanding, their Trial was in the face of the World; and *Garnet's* at *Guild-Hall* in the open Court, before five Earls, three of the chief Judges, and the Lord Mayor of *London*; Notwithstanding all the proofs produced, and a fair Hearing of whatever the Prisoners could say for themselves; Notwithstanding they were tried and cast by a Jury of impartial Persons, and such as they, nor any else, could have any exception against; yet they shall be said to suffer as Martyrs, and *pulverariæ conjurarationis obtentu*, upon the pretence of the Powder-Treason, as one saith: *To be accused through envy and malice, and condemned by a very unjust Judgment*, as saith another. But with how little Truth or pretence all this is said, will be evident, if we consider,

Proceeds p. 96.

Widdrington Append. p. 141.

Tort. Torti. p. 291.

Antil. p. 9.

Alegambe Biblioth. Index Martyr. An. 1606. Mori Hist. p. 312, & 334.

(1.) That they knew of this Plot in *Confession* at least. This *Garnet* more particularly pleaded for himself, and this is the chief Plea insisted upon by his Apologists. And to make this Plea the more effectual, they speak much of the sacredness and inviolableness of that Seal and Sacrament (as they call it) which *ought not to be broken, or the secrets of it betraid for the avoiding of any mischief how great soever*, as one saith; or, *the saving Christianity from ruine*, as saith *Cath. Apol.* *This* (saith the former) *is of divine Right, and if God had not thus secured it, he would be* Carnifex, & fidem falleret; *he would be a Murderer, and breaker of*

Eudæm. Apol. p. 337. *Ibid.* 336.

his Faith. This *Garnet* did offer in his own behalf, that he was bound to keep the ſecrets of Confeſſions, *&c.* and when asked by the Earl of *Nottingham*, if *one confeſſed this day to him, that to morrow morning he meant to kill the King with a Dagger, if he muſt conceal it?* anſwered, *that he muſt conceal it.* Now, if this be true, what a caſe is the World in, that when a Deſign is laid to deſtroy the Royal Family, the flower of the Nobility and Gentry, and thouſands of perſons beſides; a Prieſt ſhall be obliged more to ſecrecy upon Confeſſion, than to a diſcovery, notwithſtanding all the miſchief that ſhall thereby enſue. A principle ſo much contrary to the peace of the World and the welfare of mankind, that I am confident if it was turned againſt themſelves they would be the firſt that ſhould condemn it; and that if ſuch a Plot had been undertaken and carried on againſt *the Pope and the whole Colledge of Cardinals*, (as *Widdrington* hath the Caſe) to ſend them out of the World by the like means, (as this was): neither his Holineſs would have condemnd the Confeſſor if he had diſcovered it; or have commended him, if he had concealed it upon this reaſon, and thought himſelf obliged to him for his fidelity that way. Without doubt they would all ſay, as *Garnet* at laſt did——*I muſt needs confeſs*, ſaid he, *that the Laws made againſt ſuch concealing are very good and juſt, for it is not fit the ſafety of a Prince ſhould depend upon any other man's Conſcience.* And if the Laws are good that make them guilty of Treaſon, who do (though upon account of Confeſſion) conceal it, then thoſe that thus do conceal it are far from being innocent, or fit to be inrolled amongſt the number of Martyrs.

Proceedings p. 215. Caſaub. Epiſt. ad Ducæum p. 137.

Widdringtoni Appen. p. 149.

Proceed. p. 186.

But ſuppoſing it was only in Confeſſion that they had any knowledg of it, yet there are ſeveral caſes excepted and

and which it is lawful for them to divulge it in. Such a caſe is Hereſie; according to that known verſe amongſt the Caſuiſts,

Hæreſis eſt crimen, quod nec confeſſio celat.

Thus *Dominicus Soto* determines, (who is *rigidior cuſtodia Sigilli*, as Biſhop *Andrews* ſaith of him) *Such crimes are not to be concealed, but immediatly to be diſcloſed, quod plurimùm timendum eſt in crimine Hæreſis*, becauſe there is very much danger in caſe of Hereſie. Tort. Torti. p. 295. *Soto de rat. deteg. Secret. mem. 3. Q. 4. Conſ. 2.*

Such again is any crime that tends to the damage of a Community. Such again are all thoſe crimes which are of pernicious conſequence in themſelves, and that are only in intention, but not committed by the Penitent.

Such again are thoſe where the Confeſſion is not by way of Contrition, but Advice.

In theſe and the like Caſes the Caſuiſts of their own Church have accounted it lawful and neceſſary to diſcloſe them; and accordingly theſe ſecrets of Confeſſion have often been divulged; as hath been ſhewn by Biſhop *Andrews* upon this occaſion. So far is the Author of the *Catholick Apology* from ſpeaking truth, when he ſaith that *this Sacrament* [of Confeſſion] *is of ſuch reverence among* us (unleſs he mean the Jeſuits and ſome late Writters) *that we cannot lawfully diſcloſe a ſecret known by it, though 'twere to ſave Chriſtianity from ruin.* And ſo far is Dr. *Stillingfleet* from having nothing but *Confidence, Malice, &c. to drive him on*, when he ſaith, their Caſuiſts acknowledg, that *Hereſie told in Confeſſion may be revealed.* *Tort. Torti. p. 291, 292.* Cath. Apol. Paper 418. p. 426.

But; further ſuppoſing this was told in Confeſſion, yet the *Confeſſor is to diſſwade the Penitent from it*; (as the *Catholick Apology* at leaſt ſeems to own,) and it is to be ſuppoſed, that if he is not to be diſſwaded; yet, then to Cath. Apol. p. 418.

divert

divert the mischief, the Confessor may and ought to discover, (or else he leaves the Case as he finds it, with respect to the Person or Persons concerned) provided, say their Casuists, that *whilst he discovers the Crime, he doth conceal the Criminal.*

Now if all this be true, that a Secret may be communicated in Confession, and the Confessor not sin in revealing it; then what will it signifie that the Gunpowder-Treason was discovered in Confession, if the matter confessed was of that kind as would make it lawful, fit, and necessary to be revealed? And certainly, next to *the saving Christianity from ruin*, there can scarcely be a greater reason for breaking the Seal of that Sacrament (as they call it) than that a Royal Family, the Nobility (in great part) and Gentry, &c. of a Nation would have bin by one blow destroyed. And yet this was patiently heard, and the Penitent not so much as really disswaded. For all that *Garnet* could say was, that he did *oblige* Greenwel *to desist, and that he hoped that he had so done: and that he went into Warwick-shire with a purpose to dissuade Mr.* Catesby; though he knew *Catesby* would not come thither till the day after the Blow was given; as hath been before observed.

Proceedings p. 216. *Antilog.* p. 342 b.

(2.) But all this while this is far otherwise, it being very notorious that this Plot was discovered out of Confession to *Garnet* and *Greenwell, &c.* as will appear from the account which *Garnet* himself gives of it, (as far as he was concerned.) In which he delivers his mind very uncertainly. Sometimes he saith, *it was in Confession.* Sometimes, he saith it was out of Confession, but it was with relation unto Confession; Sometimes it was by way of advice. Again, Let him be asked, what he thought of *Greenwell's* intention in it? he saith, that perhaps *Green-*

Tortura Torti. p. 285.

well

well had no thoughts of Confeſſion, but might diſcover it to him under a leſſer Seal and Obligation of Secrecy. Now what can a perſon more diſcover himſelf by, than that in ſo ſolemn a thing as Confeſſion, and ſuch an extraordinary caſe as was then revealed unto him, he yet knew not, if we may believe him, what the perſon confeſſing did intend, or in what way he himſelf received it; whether it was communicated to him as a Friend for advice, or as to a Confeſſor for the diſburthning of the Conſcience. But if we further enquire how this was diſcovered to him, we are ſtill further to ſeek; It was firſt walking in the Field, and afterward what they had frequent Conference about, as about the way of doing it, the progreſs in it, and the courſe they were to take after the firſt blow was given. This plainly proves it to be matter of Conſultation rather than Confeſſion; and that it was rather what he was pleaſed with, than what he ſought to hinder. So that the whole ſtory about *Greenwel's* Confeſſion to *Garnet*, and *Catesby's* Confeſſion to *Greenwel*, ſeems to be no other than *fabula formalis*, a ſtory of *Garnet's* own invention, as he in his private Letters doth acknowledge.

Ibid. p. 296. Antilogs. p. 140. b. *Widdrington App.* p. 137.

Laſtly, If we would underſtand the Caſe, let us follow him to his death; and yet there we are at a loſs, where he ſaith, *what he knew in particulars, was in Confeſſion*; and yet when minded by the Recorder, that the King had it under his own hand, *that Greenway* [or Greenwell] *told him of this not as a fault, but by way of Conſultation*, &c. he anſwered, *whatſoever was under his hand was true*. To which he added, that *inaſmuch as he diſcloſed not the things he knew, he confeſſed himſelf juſtly condemned*, &c. From which it appears, that either he thought it was lawful upon good Reaſons to divulge what he heard in Confeſſion, or elſe what was diſcovered to him was not in Confeſſion.

Procee p. 226.

3. But

(3.) But this was so far from being discovered to the Jesuits in Confession, that it was by them that the Consciences of the scrupulous were satisfied: As that of *Catesby* by *Garnet*; that of *Bates* by *Greenwell*; that of *Littleton* by *Hall*; and all of them at *Holbeach*, as far as Absolution for the Fact could do it, by *Hammond*. That *Catesby* was herein guided by the resolution and opinion of *Garnet*; both the Case he put to him, and the satisfaction that he (upon the Provincial's answer to him) gave to the rest, of the lawfulness of it, will sufficiently prove. The *Catholick Apology* doth say, that *nothing is more false than that Garnet should determine that the Innocent and Guilty might lawfully in this Plot be destroyed together, if it were for the greater good*; and takes it upon the word of Father *More* and the other Apologists, that *Catesby pretending to go a Souldier into the Low-Countries, did propose* only *what might be done in a just War, when in blowing up a Mine the Innocent would suffer as well as the Nocent?* It is well he shifts it off to them, since this Person of Honour knows better, and cannot but be sensible that the Records of a Nation, and the proceedings of a Court of Justice in *England*, are much more to be heeded than a company of partial Apologists.

Cath. Apol. p. 422.

But as it is plainly affirm'd all along in the *Proceedings*; so it is otherwise very evident, that this Case was not put by *Catesby* to *Garnet*, nor understood by *Garnet* himself, with respect to any War, or Employment, that *Catesby* pretended to have in it, in the *Netherlands*. For (1.) if it had been so, *Garnet* would most certainly have pleaded after that manner, and not as he did; *I thought*, said *Garnet*, *it had been an idle question, though afterwards I did verily think, he intended something that was not good*; Here is not a word of a War, or of the *Low-Countries*, or of his going thither. Nay, *Garnet* saith expressly, *only* Mr. Cates-

Ibid. p. 188.

by *asked him in general the queſtion.* But (2.) if this had been the caſe, and that it was ſo propounded by *Catesby*, as they would have it, yet what needed ſo great a privacy, that he ſhould come to *Garnet* by way of ſecret Confeſſion? Since the Caſe, as they now dreſs it up, is what might be put in any place or company. (3.) If the Caſe was ſuch what needed *Catesby* to be ſo ſolicitous in it; and after the firſt reſolution of it by *Garnet* to come again upon the ſame buſineſs? (4.) Eſpecially conſidering that *Garnet* knew very well, if *Catesby* had put it after that manner, that he was not in earneſt; for there was another reaſon for his pretence of obtaining a Regiment, and going to *Flanders*, as hath been before obſerved. (5.) Its a ſign that the Caſe was not ſo put by *Catesby*; ſince it is acknowledged by *Garnet*, that *he did verily think, that he in that queſton intended ſomething that was not good.* Now how could he well diſcern ſo much from thence, if *Catesby* had pretended only ſcruple of Conſcience about what he might lawfully do, now he was going to ſerve in the Wars. The queſtion if put after that manner hath in it nothing but what is fair, and gives no reaſon to ſuſpect any thing that is not good; and therefore its likely, to avoid the objection that might be made againſt this way of framing the Caſe, it is that *More* adds, that Garnet *diſcovered that* Cateſby *had ſome great Deſign by frequent converſe with him.* And that indeed is alſo true, and it is as true that the Caſe was never ſo put under the diſguiſe of a War. For laſtly, *Garnet* himſelf doth acknowledg, that Cateſby *in his name and by his authority did ſatisfie the reſt of the lawfulneſs of the Fact.* Now it cannot be ſuppoſed that *Catesby* did not underſtand *Garnet, from whoſe ſide he never was*, as they ſay; or *that he ſhould abuſe his friend that truſted him above all the reſt*, from the knowledg and experience he had of him. It's

Tort. Torti, p. 282. *Antilog.* p. 137. b. Proceed. p. 170.

Eudæm. Apol p. 284.

Mori Hiſt. p. 325.

Caſaub. Epiſt ad Ducæum. p. 99.

Tort. Torti. p. 282.

Proceed. p. 105. certain that when *Rookwood* made it a matter of Conſcience to take away ſo much blood, *Catesby* replied, that *he was reſolved and that by good Authority (as coming from the Superior of the Jeſuits) that in Conſcience it might be done, yea though it were with the deſtruction of many Innocents, rather than that the Action ſhould quail.* In like manner was *Keys* ſatisfied. So Sir *Everard Digby* doth ſay; *For my keeping it ſecret, it was cauſed by certain belief that thoſe which were beſt able to judge of the lawfulneſs of it, had been acquainted with it, and given way unto it.* And of this we have a clear proof from him. For whereas there was a Breve obtained from the Pope by *Garnet*, for quieting ſome broils amongſt the Papiſts in *Wales*, in *May.* 1605. (or rather *upon the pretence of ſuch broils*, as *Eudæmon* would have it) which ſome now would make us believe were to forbid all Inſurrections and Conſpiracies whatſoever, and which it ſeems ſome did then ſo underſtand; we are told the meaning of it, in Sir *Everard's* Papers, who writes thus: *Before I knew any thing of this Plot, I did ask Mr.* Farmer [i.e. Garnet] *what the meaning of the Pope's Brief was; he told me that they were not (meaning the Prieſts) to undertake or procure Stirs: but yet they would not hinder any, neither was it the Pope's mind they ſhould, that ſhould be undertaken for Catholick Good.* And he preſently adds, *This anſwer with Mr.* Catesby's *proceedings with him and me, gave me abſolute beliefe that the matter in general was approved, though every particular was not known:* By which means he came to ſo great ſatisfaction in it, that he ſaith, *I could give unanſwerable reaſons for the good this would have done the Catholick Cauſe.*

Proceedings p. 168.

Eudæm. Apol p. 255.

Paper 9.

Paper 4.

But *Garnet* was not alone (though his Opinion and Judgment in the caſe was of greateſt Authority) for others alſo did follow him in the ſame practice; So *Greenwel*, whoſe

(whose true name was *Tesmond*, (*a*) but who abroad went under the name of *Beaumont*) (*b*) did satisfie *Bates* (Mr. *Catesby's* Servant) when he feard the unlawfulness of the Action, assuring him that it was *no offence to conceal it, nor sin to do it for a good Cause.* (*c*)

They tell us (*d*) that *Bates* recanted of this Information (for it was he that accused *Greenwel.*) But (1.) that is no credit to them; for in that Letter, which he is said to have written to his Confessor, he recants also that he had seen *Greenwel* and *Garnet*, which he doth there declare to be true in it self (*e*). (2.) This report was spread of him, at the first, when all could bear witness of the falsness of it; he not recanting to, nor at his death (*f*).

So *Gerard* did absolve and give the Sacrament to the five first of the Conspirators. The Author of the *Catholick Apology* (*g*) doth say that he did deny both *by a publick writing in which he called God to witness, that he knew not of the Plot, no not so much as in Confession; and also upon Oath at* Rome *when examined by the General of his Order.* He did also saith another *appeal to his familiar Friend Sir* Everard Digby. But in confutation of this, we have the Confession of *Faux* and *Thomas Winter*, the only survivers of the five that did thus receive the Sacrament of *Gerard*, and were absolved by him: whom though they did deny at the first to name, yet did afterward accuse him of it; and that he was thus charged by some, *Sir Everard* saith, he was told. As for his Appeal to Sir *Everard*, he knew that he might do it with safety and confidence, since that Gentleman had again and again satisfied them, that he would not confess his knowledg of any Priest, nor of Him above any. And if he could work thus upon another person to protest and deny, even to the death, it may well be supposed that he himself was not without those princi-

(a) *Tort. Torti.* p. 281.
(b) Mori Hist. p. 336.
(c) Proceed. p. 105.
(d) *Mori Hist.* p. 314.
(e) *Ibid* p. 315.
(f) Proceed. p. 221.
Antilog. p. 4. b & 162.
Proceed. p. 166.
(g) Cath. Apol. p. 423. *Mori. Hist.* p. 282.
Antilog. p. 159. b
Paper 5.
Ibid.

ples which he had furniſhed another with; nor would be wanting in the uſe of them, when his own life and reputation, and the honour of his Religion was concerned to have it remain a Secret. And this alſo is no new thing; for we find *Fitz-Herbert* taking the ſame courſe for his own vindication, in a charge of the like Nature.

Antilog. p. 123. a.

Hammond the Jeſuit is another, whom we find concerned in this capacity, who did abſolve the Conſpirators at the houſe of *Rob. Winter*, when they were in actual Rebellion: And for which the Apologiſt hath nothing elſe to ſay, but *who can tell whether* Hammond *did not oblige them to lay down their Arms before he did abſolve them; or whether they did not bring ſuch Arguments for continuing in them, as might render it probable, and then he was bound to abſolve them?*

Proceedings P. 123.

Eudæm. Apol. p. 273. &c.

But as to the former, it is certainly otherwiſe; for they not only continued in the ſame poſture of Rebellion after abſolution, which they were in before; But alſo *Hammond* adviſed *Henry Morgan* to *defend the Cauſe to the utmoſt* before he abſolved him. Which is further confirmed by what *Stephen Littleton* did ſay; who when asked whether he was abſolv'd for the Fact, or had his Conſcience ſatisfied by any about it, *viz.* at that time; anſwered, *that he would rather dye than reveal the ſecrets of that matter.* Which doth imply that he had bin thus abſolved, and was confirmed.

Antilog. p. 154. b

Ibid. p. 155. a

As to the latter, *viz.* the *Doctrine of a probable opinion*, it ſerves rather to condemn than excuſe them; for if the opinion of a Doctor, or their own (and the good of the Cauſe ſhall ſerve to procure both) may make an Opinion probable, then *Jac. Clemens*, and *Ravilliac*, and all the Regicides in the World, may be defended, and defend themſelves. But yet, even this will not ſalve the reputa-

tion

tion of *Hammond*; for *Rookwood* believed his concealment of this Treaſon to be a Sin, and confeſſed it ſo to him: but he abſolved him from all his Sins notwithſtanding, without taking notice of this particular.

Rookwood thought it to be unlawful, and yet *Hammond* abſolved him, as if he never had ſo thought.

Another of the Jeſuits is *Hall*, or *Oldcorn*, who was privy to it, and did ſatisfie *Humphry Littleton*, that did begin to ſuſpect the lawfulneſs of the Plot, and to think God was not pleaſed with it from the diſaſter *Catesby*, &c. met with; But *Hall* told him that *we muſt not judg the cauſe by the event*, and gave him ſeveral inſtances to confirm it. This *Humphry Littelton* did confeſs. But ſaith the Apologiſt, he did at his *Execution beg pardon of* Hall *for it*.

Proceedings p. 172.

Antilog. p. 150. b

Eudæm. Apol p. 270.

But if he did, he muſt ask his pardon for what was true; for *Hall* himſelf in the ſubſtance of it did confeſs what *Littelton* accuſed him of. But how could that be, that he ſhould beg pardon of him at the place of execution; when, though they ſuffered the ſame day at *Worceſter*, yet not at the ſame time, and *Littelton* was dead before *Hall* came thither.

Antilog. p. 150. b

Ibid. p. 151. b.

4. The Jeſuits did not only ſatisfie the Conſciences of others and abſolve them; but alſo were parties in the Treaſon themſelves. I ſhall not here inſiſt upon what *Smith*, the Biſhop of *Chalcedon* ſaid of *Gerard*, that he *boaſted that he had largely ſweat with working in the Mine*; becauſe I find it not upon Record. But there are ſeveral things laid to their charge that will ſufficiently prove, that they were actually concerned in it. As,

(1.) We find that at the firſt beginning they were preſent at their moſt private Conſultations; and ſo intimate in that juncture was *Gerard* with *Catesby*, that he lodged with him in *Percy's* houſe, as *Faux* confeſſed.

Antilog. p. 160. a

Proceedings p. 113.

(2) We

Proceedings p.113. (2) We find that ſome of them adminiſtred the Oath of Secrecy to the Conſpirators; So *Gerard* to *Catesby*, &c. and *Greenwel* to *Bates*.

Ibid. p.124. Antilog.p. 160. b (3.) They were alſo buſie in buying up ſtore of Horſes and Arms; and *Gerard* was more particularly imployed herein, as he had skill, and pretended to teach the riding of the great Horſe.

Proceed. p. 167 & 169 Ibid. p.125. *Antil.* g.p. 160. a Pap.5. Compared with pap.3. (4.) That they had frequent conſultations about it; as *Garnet* with *Catesby* and *Treſham* about the ſtrength of the Catholicks: *Greenwel* with *Garnet* about a Protector. And *Garnet*, *Gerard* and *Greenwel* with Sir *Everard Digby*, &c. for they ſeem to be the *Three* whom Sir *Everard* is ſo careful to conceal; and whom he therefore is ſo careful to conceal, becauſe of ſome particular charge that might be brought againſt them, for what was ſaid or done when together with him; as may be collected from his Papers,

Proceedings. p.216,218. (5.) When the Conſpirators were in Arms, *Greenwel* came to them from *Garnet*, and ſo had *Garnet* come likewiſe, but for fear his order might irreparably ſuffer by his appearance. *Greenwel* went from them to raiſe a Party and make an Inſurrection. And *Hammond* continued with them.

Now if to ſatisfie the ſcrupulous and abſolve the guilty, and to oblige to Secrecy; if Conſulting, Adviſing, Aſſiſting, and accompanying with the Traitors will bring the Prieſts into the number; then they will be guilty. And its not all their own Declarations, or Apologies written by others on their behalf, will make them innocent, as long as ſuch a Charge remains upon Record againſt them.

Caſaub. ad Ducæum. Proceedings p.173. It is no wonder then, that *Garnet* after all his confidence, ſhould profeſs that he *would give all the world to clear his Innocency*; and that he that hoped at the firſt to *eſcape for*

Want

Want of proof; ſhould have nothing to ſay for himſelf, when he was overwhelmed, as he ſaid, with *ſo great a Cloud of Witneſſes*. Proceedings p. 196, & 174.

From which evidence, as he did at laſt confeſs, what they could from other proof charge upon him; ſo from his own confeſſion given under his hand, he was, when he would have ſtray'd from the path of Truth at his death, forced into it again by the admonition of the Recorder then preſent. For a little to palliate his caſe and clear himſelf, he ſaid, that *what he knew in particulars was in Confeſſion*, which was contrary to what he before had confeſſed in four points; as the Recorder then ſhewed; and how he could thus equivocate or worſe, and yet *behave himſelf like a faithful Servant of Jeſus Chriſt at his death*, as the Author of the *Catholick Apology ſaith*, all mankind, but themſelves, cannot, I believe, underſtand. Proceedings p. 225. P. 420.

SECT. IV.

This Conſpiracy was purely upon the account of Religion.

AS our Adverſaries before have done what they could to caſt off the *odium* of this Conſpiracy from the Party in general, and from the Jeſuits in particular, by making a few Gentlemen only and their dependents concerned in it: So they uſe as much Art to clear their Religion from the guilt of it; being ſenſible that if this be found faulty, the others are not to be defended, but the whole Party muſt fall under cenſure. Therefore they labour might and main to acquit themſelves well herein, and tell us that as theſe perſons were few in number, ſo

ſo they did proceed upon diſcontent, and not upon the ſcore of Religion.

Proceed. p. 127. Eudæm. Apol. p. 233. Ibid. p. 290.

Sometimes they plead, the King did before his coming into *England* give them good hopes of the exerciſe of their Religion, which when deceived in, they were exaſperated. Sometimes their Perſecutions were ſo great, *that they almoſt hated life it ſelf for their ſake.* Or as the Author of the *Catholick Apology* words it; *That which drove theſe Gentlemen into this wickedneſs, was the want of Chriſtian patience, or a deſpair of any eaſe by this King from Queen* Elizabeth's *cruel and horrid Laws*, &c.

Cath. Apol. p. 416.

Now ſuppoſing (1.) that thus it was, that the King had before promiſed favour to them, and inſtead of that had permitted *the horrid and cruel Laws*, as he calls them, to have their courſe; is this ſufficient to excuſe their curſed Deſign, or to prove that Religion was not concerned in it? Was it upon any other account (if we grant this) than Religion, when they hoped for Toleration; and was it not Religion that put them upon Rebellion, becauſe they had not that Toleration?

But (2.) indeed there was no ſuch reaſon for their Conſpiracy; for they had no ſuch aſſurances from the King. Such a report was ſpread abroad by themſelves, as *Watſon* doth acknowledge; but with what truth will appear not only from *Watſon's* Confeſſion, who two days before his death proteſted upon his Soul to the Earl of *Northampton*, that *he could never draw the ſmalleſt comfort from him in thoſe degrees*; but alſo from *Watſon's* Treaſon, who would never have attempted that, if he had been ſatisfied of the King's good intentions towards thoſe of his Religion. It is not unlikely but that the King, who after his coming in did receive them freely and favourably, might before treat them after the ſame manner; but how far it was from

Antilog. p. 137. b

Proceedings p. 137.

any

any promiſe, *Watſon* further declares, *I could never draw more from the King*, ſaith he, *than that he would have the Catholicks apprehend, that as he was a ſtranger to this ſtate, ſo till he underſtood in all points how thoſe matters ſtood, he would not promiſe favour any way* Ibid.

But how far the King was from affording them any ſuch favours, as they pretend, is further declared in a *Memorandum* in the *Star-Chamber*; For ſome of the Puritans having ſpread a rumour, that the King intended to grant a Toleration to Papiſts, the Lords ſeverally declared, how the King was diſcontented with the ſaid falſe rumour, and had made but the day before a Proteſtation to them, *that he never intended it, and that he would ſpend the laſt drop of blood in his body before he would do it, and prayed that before any of his Iſſue ſhould maintain any other Religion than what he truly profeſſed and maintained, that God would take them out of the World.* As falſe alſo, and leſs ground is there for that of their Perſecution. For he was ſo far from it that he gave honour at his firſt coming to many of them, and did admit all without diſtinction to his preſence upon juſt occaſion of acceſs, as the Earl of *Northampton* ſhews; and took away the Mulcts that were laid upon them. And in his firſt Speech in Parliament *Mar.* 19. 1603 the King did make a propoſal of clearing the Laws of ſuch interpretations *as might tend to the hurt of the innocent as well as the guilty*, as he ſaith; which Speech was made after the Treaſon of *Watſon* was diſcovered; that not provoking the King to change his behaviour toward any other of them than thoſe that were Confederates in it. So that if we truly enquire into the caſe, unleſs Lenity and Favour is Perſecution, we ſhall hardly find what may be ſo called, And ſo much indeed doth *Suarez* ſay; *that King* James's *kindneſſes (inaſmuch as they proceeded from political reaſons) may be well eſteemd part of their Perſecution.*

Crook's Reports. An. 2d *Jac.*

Proceed. p. 132.

Caſaub. ad Ducæum p. 75.

K. *James's* Works. p. 491.

Tortura Torti. p. 85.

Suar. Def. l. 6. c. 10 de Perſec. Angl.

But (3.) There could be no ſuch reaſon for this Conſpiracy; for they had laid the foundation of it, and were carrying it on before the King was ſettled in his Throne. This *Watſon* confeſs'd; and its alſo manifeſt; for *Chriſtopher Wright* was diſpatched into *Spain* to engage that Kings aſſiſtance immediatly upon Queen *Elizabeths* death, and the Powder Treaſon it ſelf was formed in the firſt year of King *James*'s Reign.

Tortur. Torti. p. 83.

We ſee then they had no ſuch provocation given them as is pretended, and that if they had, it doth not at all infer that they engaged upon this Deſign not upon the account of Religion. But if we ſhould grant that they had ſuch a provocation, and that the provocation and Religion did not go together in it: Yet we have other reaſons to ſhew, that it was upon a religious account that this was undertaken, and that I ſhall make evident,

(1.) From the Principles which they went upon.

(2.) From their own Declaration.

From their Principles. As,

(1.) They held that an Heretical Prince might and ought to be depoſed; So *Faux* ſaid *he was moved to this; becauſe the King was not his lawful Sovereign, or the Anointed of God, in reſpect he was an Heretick.*

Proceed. p. 38.

(2.) That the Pope had ſufficient power, by vertue of his Supremacy, to depoſe ſuch; This was *Catesbye's* reaſon, for ſaith he, if *the Popes Breves were of force to keep him* [King James] *out, they are alſo of no leſs Authority to thruſt him out.*

(3.) That it was lawful for the good of the Church, and the furtherance of the Catholick Cauſe to kill and to deſtroy; This was the reaſon upon which *Catesby* and all the reſt were ſatisfied; and from whence Sir *Everard* did with a great confidence affirm, *I could give unanſwerable*

Paper. 4.

reaſons

reaſons for the good that this would have done for the Catholick Cauſe. Which it ſeems he was furniſhed with from a *Lattin* Book that he met with, perhaps *Delrio*. If theſe and the like be not principles of their Religion then we are to ſeek for them. and if theſe are the Principls upon which they were ſatisfied, then it was the Cauſe of Religion that they fought in. Paper 8.

(2.) But if this will not do, let us attend to their own Declarations. *I was moved hereunto*, ſaid Faux, *only for Religion and Conſcience ſake, the King not being my lawful Soveraign*, &c. So Sir Everard Digby, *no other cauſe drew me to hazard my Fortune and Life, but Zeal to Gods Religion.* From all which we have reaſon to ſay with King *James*, that *it cannot be denied, that it was the only blind Superſtition of their errors in Religion, that led them to this deſperate device.* And muſt think the Author of the *Catholick Apology* let fall a great Truth, though againſt his own mind, that when Dr. *Stillingfleet* had aſſerted, that *the Plotters motives were from their Religion*: doth reply, *'Tis as true that the Plot had its riſe from* Clem. 8. *Breves.* For ſo it had in a great meaſure, as I have before ſhewed. Paper 1. K. James's Speech. Proceed. p. 10.

SECT. V.

THey never gave to the World any real and good ſatisfaction of their abhorrency of this bloody Deſign. The Catholick Apology doth tell us, that *Cardinal* Bellarmin *doth expreſs the Treaſon, not only by the name of Horrid, but alſo adds, I excuſe not the Fact, I abominate King-killing, I deteſt Conſpiracies.* And preſently adds of his own, *Did ever Writer, whether Prieſt or Lay-man, Engliſh-man or Stranger, own the real Plotters not to be Villains?* But the Queſtion is, Firſt, who are thoſe he calls *real Plotters*, not the Jeſuits, or hardly *Catesby*, whom they do ſo much ap- Cath. Apol. p. 427.

plaud, not only for his Parts but his Piety. Again, what doth he mean by owning the real Plotters to be Villains? Is it by calling them by hard names? is it that they do abominate the thing in words of the highest detestation? All this may be, and hath been done by more than *Bellarmin* or this Author, and yet it is not good satisfaction. Is it by writing Apologies and Supplications? that was done in 1603 and 1604, just whilst the Powder-Treason was in its agitation. How shall we give credit to them? when the Principles these Persons went upon were never disowned to the World, upon any sufficient Authority; and the Persons that escaped from publick Justice, were cherished, and those that suffered by it to this day, honoured. They can hardly forbear extolling even the chief of the Conspirators [*Catesby*] to the Heavens, as a *Man very eminent for great endowments of mind, and an incredible sweetness of temper.* Nay, the whole pack of them, setting aside this business, were Persons of *very pious minds and consciences.* But when they come to the Jesuites, they spare no words nor Rhetorick to describe their Merits, and not contented with proclaiming their Innocency, they will canonize them for Saints, and enrol them in their Catalogue of Martyrs. Thus we find they did quickly by *Garnet*, who in their College at *Rome* had his Picture set up with *verus Christi Martyr*, and his Name is still with *Oldcorn* (i. e. *Hall*) to be seen in their Catalogues of Martyrs; which may be done, and is, without *that great Formality of the Church*, which the Catholick Apology doth speak of, and thinks to controul *Widdrington*'s Information by. But this is not enough, for at their Death are several Miracles pretended to be wrought, as they would have us believe: For *Oldcorn*'s Bowels, *saith the Legend, burnt sixteen days together, which answered the number of years that he laboured in propagating their Religion in* England. And

K. *James*'s Works p. 463.

Eudæm. Apol. p. 4.
Ibid. p. 275.

K. *James*'s Works p. 333.
Widdringtoni Appendix p. 123.
Alegambe Biblioth.
Cath. Apol. p. 421.

Mori Hist. p. 335.

Garnet

Garnet was no ſooner dead, but preſently his Face muſt be pictured to the very life by a drop of blood that fell upon a Straw. Though thoſe that did then ſee it (which was about 19 weeks after *Garnets* Execution) could not ſee much in it like the Face of a Man without a great power of Fancy, and much leſs any thing like the Face of *Garnet* more than that of another. The *Cath. Apology* indeed doth tell us, that *it fell in the form of a Face ſo exactly alike, that all men knew it that had ever ſeen him.* But we are to receive that upon the ſame Credit as what he further ſaith, that *he was quartered for an Article of Faith.* But there was a further wonder in it; for this Straw which had before but a little touch of a Beard, and that had Eyes and Features hardly to be diſcerned, by that time it was preſented to the Spaniſh Embaſſadour, [redacted], it grew to greater perfection; and from a bare Head, in ſome time after, it had its Head encircled with a glorious Crown; as it is deſcribed by themſelves. It is no wonder then, that this Straw which could work ſo great a change in it ſelf, ſhould alſo propagate its kind, for within a while many others were to be ſeen.

Antilog. p. 199. a. *Widdrington Appendix* p. 145. Antilog. p. 200. Cath. Apol. p. 422.

Mori Hiſt. p. 319. *Eudæm. Apol. init.*

What ſhall we ſay more, if the Graſs where *Garnet* and *Oldcorn* laſt ſet their feet in Mr. *Abington's* Houſe, grew up into the exact ſhape of an Imperial Crown, and remain'd ſo as not to be trodden down by the feet of thoſe that came thither, or eat up by the Cattle, as an Author of theirs ſaith? What if there was a ſpring of Oyl broke forth ſuddenly in the place where *Garnet* was executed? as Father *David* at *Ypres* did affirm. What if *Gerard* did eſcape by *Garnets* merits, as he himſelf did declare? After all this who but an Heretick, can believe otherwiſe than that he was Innocent, and died a Martyr, and is now a Saint? that it was a meritorious Act to get a Straw or a ſplinter of his Bones, and keep them for Reliques? and

Mori Hiſt. p. 335.

Biſhop Hall Serm. before K. J. Sept. 19. 1624. *Mori Hiſt.* p. 339.

that

that its lawful to pray, as its ſaid they of *Lovain* did, *Sancte Henrice ora pro nobis.*

Widdring. *App.* p. 150. *Fowlis* l. 10. c. 10. *Antil.* p. 3. a

But now what if after all this adoe, *Garnet* ſhould confeſs that he ſinned, What if he ſhould ſay (as he didin his this Letter to Mrs. *Vaux*) *that he died for Treaſon and not for Religion*? Then he was not Innocent, not a Martyr, and whether a Saint or no, another World muſt tell us. Then alſo we may admit the ſtory of the Straw and others explication of it; who ſaid, That it was no wonder to find his Face in Blood, who was a Man that did thirſt after it. This is what *Thuanus*, as well as *Widdrington*, report, and I ſhall end with a remarque that the former hath upon it; *So perilous a thing is it in theſe times to ſay ſuch things for the honour of another, as do exceed belief and the common courſe of Nature; for they may preſently be retorted to his diſparagement.*

Widdringt. App. p. 145.

This is the honour that they have done to the dead, and they were not without ſhewing Favour to the living and thoſe that made their eſcape, *who were never called to account for it by the Pope, much leſs puniſhed for ſo ſcandalous and enormous buſineſs*, as King *James* ſaith. Two of theſe *Greenwel* and *Gerard* lived in *Rome*; the one *Greenwel*, [i. e. *Teſmond*] *the Popes Pœnitentiary*; and the other *Gerard*, a *Confeſſor at Saint* Peters *in Rome*, as *Widdrington* reports. But here the Author of the *Catholick Apology* thinks he hath the advantage of Dr. *Stillingfleet*, from what he relates of theſe two perſons from *Widdrington*; for he ſaith the Pope's Pœnitentiary and Confeſſor at St. *Peter's* are but different names for the ſame thing. But if it was a miſtake it is to err with one of their own Church; *viz. Widdrington* (otherwiſe called *Preſton*) who was not only of their Communion, but alſo a Prieſt, as I have heard from ſuch as knew him in the *Clinck*; and I find in a *MS.* now in my poſſeſſion, that he was one of the thirty Prieſts

K. *James's* Appol. in Works p. 274. *Widdringt.* Apol. p. 151. *Cath. Apol.* p. 137.

MS. Cui Tit. Sumar. de rebus relig. in Anglia An. 1632.

that

that were in Priſon here in *England*, *An.* 1632.

But what if after that ſtir made in this matter, they prove to be are different Offices, then *Greenwel* might be *The Pope's Penitentiary*, and *Gerard* a *Confeſſor* ſome while in St. *Peter's*; and the Doctor not be ignorant, notwithſtanding all that honourable perſon hath ſaid. For how meanly ſoever he deſcribes or indeed may think of it, I find the Pope's *Penitentiary* is an Office of reſpect, and is called by that name, becauſe its called the Court of Penitents, but properly is the Court of Conſcience where he officiates; This Office is uſually deputed to a Cardinal, who is *Major Pœnitentiarius*, under whom are many ſubordinate. This is a ſtated Office, and what ſuch a perſon (as *Greenwel*) might be employed in as ſubordinate, at leaſt. But *Gerard's* Office was occaſional, and what, tho he lived in the *Engliſh* Colledg at *Rome*, he might very well perform. For *Widdrington* ſaith, that *many had ſeen him publickly hearing Confeſſions at St.* Peter's.

Craſhaw's Mittimus, in Advertiſement to the Reader.

It is not that theſe *are high and mighty preferments*, which thoſe Perſons were advanced to, that made the Doctor revive this ſtory, (though they are honourable enough amongſt them) but that from thence we may ſee how little they did diſcourage ſuch proceedings, as thoſe Jeſuits were here in *England* concerned in, when ſuch as were equally engaged with thoſe that ſuffered, ſhould live quietly and reſpectfully within *Rome* it ſelf, and under the very Eye of his Holineſs. From all which we may well ſay with King *James*, *what a large liberty is by this Doctrine left to Church-men, to hatch or foſter any treaſonable attempts againſt Princes, I leave it to your* [ſpeaking to Monarchs, &c.] *conſideration, ſince do what they will, they are accountable to none of us: nay all their treaſonable practices muſt be works of Piety, and they being juſtly puniſhed for the ſame, muſt be preſently*

Catho. Apo. Ibid.

King *James* Premonition, in his Works. p. 333.

preſently inrolled in the Liſt of Martyrs and Saints, &c.

If this be their practice, that Traitors are thus excuſed and protected; and the Principles upon which they acted not recalled or cenſured; We have little reaſon to think the World ſecured againſt practices of the like kind, when time ſhall ſerve and the neceſſity of things, in their eſtimation, ſo requires. And we ſhall not then need to vindicate the *Hiſtory of the Powder-Treaſon* (as we now are forced to do) ſince we ſhall then ſee they will repeat it (*mutatis mutandis*) and we can never hope to be freed from attempts of that kind, till they quit their Principles, and the Romiſh Church come to be reformed; which will more pleaſe us than the deſtruction of it, and what is by all good Proteſtants heartily prayed for.

Compendium of the late Tryals, &c. *New Plot of the Papiſts.*

New Plot. p. 13.

I ſhould now have concluded, but that I find there are ſome that do make uſe of the caſe and circumſtances of the Gunpowder-Treaſon to overthrow the belief that is given to the preſent *Plot*, and by comparing one with another, One doth not queſtion, as he ſaith, but *to convince all thoſe whoſe hearts are not of* Pharaoh's *Temper, and whom the violence of paſſion has not totally deprived of all exerciſe of Reaſon*, that there is no Truth in the thing, nor reaſon to believe any of the Evidence we have for it. Now becauſe of the relation which, this way that they have taken, hath to the Deſign that I have purſued in this Treatiſe; I ſhall add ſomewhat by way of anſwer to it, and in doing ſo,

1. I ſhall conſider the caſe as laid down by them.

2. I ſhall ſhew that there is not ſo much difference betwixt Plot and Plot, betwixt the Criminals then and Conſpirators now, as there is an agreement; which I ſhall do by my making a parallel betwixt the one and the other.

3. I ſhall ſhew the ground of that difference which is betwixt them; and how that what hath been ſaid in their way of compariſon, to invalidate the diſcovery made of the preſent Plot, ſerves little to the purpoſe it was produced for.

There are four things, which the foreſaid Author doth collect from the Hiſtory of the Powder Treaſon. *New Plot.* Ibid.

1. *There was then viſible the overt act of Barrels of Powder laid in the place.*

2. *There was a flight of ſome of the Conſpirators, and their reſiſtance at their taking.*

3. *Thoſe that were Executed, did all confeſs the fact at the time of Execution.*

4. *All perſons indifferently, both Papiſts and Proteſtants, Forreigners and Natives believed the thing*, &c.

And from this he doth proceed to ſhew, that *all things in the preſent Conſpiracy run counter to every particular in that.* When he begins to diſcourſe upon the firſt, he ſaith, *This hainous Plot is built upon the bare teſtimony of the Swearers*, and that *there is not any matter of Fact viſible and apparent, that has any proper tendency, or relation to a Conſpiracy for deſtroying the King, and levying of War.* Indeed he cannot deny, but that there are two things, which if they could be proved to be done by them, as well as it is manifeſt that ſuch things were, would be juſt matter of accuſation; and they are the death of Sir *Edmonbury Godfry*, and the *Conſult*: but he can put off theſe (he thinks) with a wet finger; and if this be done, leaves all the world to challenge them further with any thing of that nature. *Let not the death of Sir* Edmond *be urged*, ſaith he, *as matter of Fact, becauſe the unfortunate end of that Gentleman, as to the true manner of it, is a Myſtery yet unreveal'd, and is laid at the Papiſts door, juſt as Antichriſt is charged upon the Pope.*

But is the death of that Gentleman ſo eaſily to be put up? Or is it indeed *a myſtery yet unrevealed?* Was it not plainly made out that this Gentleman was murdered, and that he could not both ſtrangle and thruſt himſelf through? And was it not ſo revealed that *Bedlow*, that was to have been one of the Aſſaſinates, and did ſee his body when dead, did of his own accord confeſs it? and *Prance* that had an hand in his death did upon his apprehenſion alſo acknowledg it? And was it not ſo reveal'd that ſome fled for it, and others that were taken, after an open Trial according to courſe at Law, were Executed for it? And ſhall it be ſtill *a Myſtery unrevealed?*

But ſaith he, *there are few unbiaſſed and diſcerning men, that are convinced, that theſe poor Creatures, that ſuffered upon that account, were truly guilty.* What in the mean while doth he make of the Judges and the Jury, were they neither *unbiaſſed nor diſcerning?* or ſhall they be neither, who do believe them to have been guilty upon the ſame Evidence which the Court was then ſatisfied with? But what ſhould hinder *unbiaſſed and diſcerning* men from being *convinced?* was there reaſon to think the matter of the Evidence not to be ſufficient, or the Perſons giving it not to be of ſufficient Credit? Let us conſider the caſe, and that will beſt inform us. The perſons were ſuch as were either actually engaged, or invited ſo to be; that either helped to do it, or did ſee it when done: Both, though not known to one another, concurring, as far as they were concerned, in the ſame circumſtances, as to the Perſon murdered, the poſture of his Body, the place where it was, and the way in which it was to be diſpoſed of, *&c.* And as they did not vary from one another, ſo not from themſelves, in above one point, that the Adverſaries (as I remember) can after all their diligent ſearch find them out in, (if that be true too)

too) and all this fortified by several Collateral and concurring Testimonies. Whilst in the mean time, the Prisoners were manifestly convinced of the contrary; saying and unsaying, affirming and denying the same things: Sometimes *Berry* did know *Prance* as he passed up and down the house only; at another time he knew him so, as often to drink with him. Sometimes he never had such an order, as he had the 13*th* and 14*th* of *October*, to suffer no Strangers, nor any Persons of Quality to come into *Somerset-House*; at another time he had received such orders before. Sometimes *Hill* knew not *Kelly*, at another time he owned that he knew him, (for 'tis *Kelly* and not *Girald* that he speaks of more expressly, notwithstanding what an Advocate of theirs saith.) Sometimes, he left the Lodgings before Sir *Edmonds* death; at another time it was a week or fortnight after, *&c.*

Tryals of *Green*, &c. p. 24. p. 49.

p. 41. & 48. Compared. *Compendium* p. 18. *Tryals* p. 57.

But the above said Author, saith *Prance*, *did once disclaim his Evidence before King and Council*: This 'tis true he did, but was so little resolute in it, that as soon as he came to Newgate he most earnestly begged of Captain *Richardson* to go back and assure his Majesty, that all he had that day said at Council was false; and that he retracted before for fear of his life, having not a pardon; or if he had, knowing that he should never enjoy it, because of the attempts he might expect to be made upon him; or if both, that however he should lose his Trade & Livelihood: These, together with his perswasion that it was lawful to say or swear any thing in his way of Religion, did induce him to it. But however *he is not rationally to be believed*, saith the Author, *until he shall in the same circumstance of dying, declare their guilt, in which they so solemnly declared their Innocency.* By which way of arguing no man can ever dy with a Lye in his mouth; nor is any person or company

New Plot p. p. 14. Tryal's of *Green*, &c: p. 26, & 70. *Prance's* Narative. p. 23. *&c.*

New Plot.

of men to be believed [illegible] against such an one, or upon [illegible] unless [illegible] circumstance which [illegible] [illegible] But to put it out of question, we are [illegible] him[self] in his Life was [illegible] affirm the [illegible] of whatever he at first deposed, and as soon as he was recovered, did own it afresh before the King and Council. And *Bedlow* upon his Death-bed did declare *upon the Faith of a dying man, and as he hoped for Salvation, that he had wronged no man by his Testimony, and what ever he had testified concerning the Plot, was true.* Here is then the affirmation of Persons, not concerned to take away the Life of those men against their denial, who were concerned to save their own Lives; and the evidence of persons *declaring their guilt in the same circumstance of dying, in which the others did so solemnly declare their Innocence.*

Bedlow's Examination in his last sickness. p. 10.

And lastly, here is the affirmation of such Persons, who had no Principles of Religion to lead them thus to affirm, against them, whose Principles did encourage them thus to deny. But, saith the above cited Authour, Berry *at the same time* [of his death] *declared himself both innocent and a Protestant.* That Persons may declare themselves Protestants whilst they are Papists, is not what we are at this time a day ignorant of; and of which we have store of Instances: And that professed Protestants may deny at their death those crimes which they are justly charged with and condemned for, is what we need not the help of an Author of theirs to shew us *Precedents* in; for 'tis what we freely confess. But that our Religion should be the worse for it, or that *the Protestant Doctrine is guilty of it*, as he would have it, needs more than his bare affirmation

New Plot Ibid. V. Abboti Antilog. p. 34. a

Compendium. p. 75.

tion to gain credit and belief: when we have no ſuch thing as a Diſpenſation before-hand or Abſolution after it, without deteſtation, &c, to befriend us. Now whether *Berry* did declare himſelf a Proteſtant, and deny the Fact upon their Principles; or whether he did deny the Fact upon no Principles, is one in effect as to the preſent caſe: But that he did deny what he knew to be true, beſides the Evidence otherwiſe againſt him, we have no little reaſon to think from his ſilence at his death, *when he ſaid not any thing, either in aſſerting his innocence as to the murder of Sir* Edmund, *neither as to the Religion he died in*; As one that was preſent, and not a little concerned to obſerve, doth affirm. It looks very odd that he ſhould profeſs ſo much remorſe for his diſſimulation in his Religion, and ſo much innocency in the point he was condemned for; and yet at his Execution, ſhould not clear himſelf, but paſs by both as if he had not bin concerned. This is ſo irreconcileable either to his ſincerity in the one, or innocency in the other, that it was foreſeen; and therefore as a Speech was prepared for *Hill*, before his death, ſo another is made for *Berry* after it. *He then declared himſelf both innocent and a Proteſtant*, ſaith one: *He abſolutely denied at the very Gallows, the Fact: Nay, as the Cart was drawing away, he lifted up his hands, and ſaid, as I am innocent, ſo receive my Soul, O Jeſus*; as another telleth us. And yet he ſpoke not one word to either. Now what reaſon have we to believe his ſilence beyond others proteſtations at their death? and yet ſome Mens Proteſtations of that kind are no more to be believed by this Author, (as that of the Lord *Caſtlehaven's*, which he mentions) than we believe thoſe of *Hill* and *Green*.

Smith's account of the 14 Malefactors, &c. p. 18.

New Plot. Ibid. Compendium. p. 20.

So far then we are not without Reaſon to convince us, that theſe perſons were ſome of Sir *Edmund's* true

Murderers

Murderers. But then if we shall add to this, the strange circumstances of *Prance's* apprehension, and the description *Bedlow* gave of such a person before it. If we consider what Sir *Edmond* himself did foretell about his being the *first Martyr*; and the notice that *Dugdale* gave of his death, two days before it was known at *London* what became of him, and many other circumstances which might easily be collected; We have good marks to find out the Murtherers by, and *the door, at which his death is to be laid.*

Tryal of *Whitebread*, &c. p. 26.

The second thing owned by the aboveſaid Author for *an overt Act*, is the Conſult in *April* 24. (not the 14th as he miſtakes) But that he would have to be only a *Triennial meeting* in courſe. But then what needed *ſo great ſecreſie as to time and place*, and ſuch care to be taken *not to haſten to* London *long before the time, nor to appear much about the Town till the meeting be over, leſt occaſion ſhould be given to ſuſpect the Deſign*, which the Letter doth ſpeak of? Then, how came it to paſs, that there were other Conſults, and that Mr. *Ireland* ſhould take ſuch a Journey, as from Staffordſhire to *London*, by Poſt in *Auguſt*, to be preſent at it; as beſides the then proof, Mr. *Jennifon* doth affirm, and his own hand hath made evident? or if the *Regiſter* ſpoken of, was only about Conſults for that purpoſe, why was not that Book produced, as deſired, for their Vindication?

The Trial of Ireland *p.* 53

p. 40.

P. 47.

P. 54. What other overt Acts there were, as *Coleman's* Letters, *Seals for Commiſſions* (upon which *Whitebread* only anſwered, *the taking them out of his Chamber was more than they had power to do*) and the like, I ſhall not further ſearch after, but leave it to what is, and will be further made publick by Authority. But what hath been ſaid already is ſufficient to ſhew, how little truth there is in what the aboveſaid Author doth fantaſtically affirm, *viz.* that the charge of the Plot *is only ſupported by the breath of the Witneſſes coined into Oaths.*

New-Plot. p. 15.

2. He

2. He ſaith that in the Powder-Treaſon *there was the flight of ſome of the Conſpirators, and the reſiſtance at their taking.* But *not one Perſon in this pretended Conſpiracy did either fly, or abſcond (except only the Prieſts, who were obnoxious to the Law for their Prieſthood) nay the greateſt part of them, upon the firſt rumour of their accuſation, came in and tender'd themſelves.* Ibid.

But I deny, (1) that its an undoubted mark of a perſon's Innocency, that he did not fly when a Treaſon was diſcovered, and he had an opportunity of making his eſcape. For the caſe may be, that he may not be charged with it, and then if he flys he brings it upon himſelf. So *Treſham* in the Powder-Treaſon *ſtill continued about the Court, that he might thereby ſeem wholly free and innocent*; as an Author above quoted obſerves. (2.) He may ſtay and yet be guilty, upon a preſumption that the Charge may not be made good, and he may eſcape *for want of proof*, as *Garnet* hoped. (3.) He may ſtay and yet be guilty, as preſuming, that though the Charge be made good; yet he hath perſons of power and intereſt great enough to interpoſe betwixt him and danger. And therefore rather than be declared guilty by flight, or betray and diſcredit his Cauſe, or diſtruſt his Friends, he may chooſe to ſtay, though he be no more innocent than thoſe that fly. Compendium. p. 74.

But after all, is *it not poſſible that not one ſhould be found, whoſe guilt, or fear did prevail upon him to fly and ſecure himſelf*, &c. as he ſaith it is not? He grants the Prieſts did fly; but *it was becauſe they were obnoxious to the Law for their Prieſthood.* If that was the reaſon, then there had been no Prieſt but what would have fled; thoſe that were not charged with this Treaſon, as well as thoſe that were: for, ſetting aſide this new charge, all as Prieſts are alike obnoxious; and yet we find all did not alike fly.

But

Tryal of Green, *&c.* *p.*21,43.&c. But were there none but Prieſts that fled, then where are thoſe *Laymen* that were concerned in the charge of Sir *Edmund*'s murther, and that are ſo often mentioned in the Tryals? What are become of many perſons whom it is not for me to name, but are known to have reſided beyond Seas, ever ſince the Examination into this buſineſs?

Ibid. *p.* 67. Now if what one of themſelves ſaith be true, that *flight is a ſign of guilt*, then theſe are ſelf-condemned, that put it upon this iſſue, and ſay, that *the ſtouteſt man, had he been*

New Plot. *guilty, would have fled upon ſuch warning: but the moſt time-*

Ibid. *rous of Nature did not fly, becauſe he was innocent.*

New Plot *p.*13,15. Compendium. *p.*75. 3. He ſaith, *thoſe that were executed for the Powder-Treaſon, did all confeſs the Fact at the time of Execution: Whereas thoſe that have been executed for this Plot have at their Deaths denied the Fact, and reſiſted all temptations of Pardon, and Reward*, &c. That the Traytors in the Powder-Treaſon did confeſs the Fact, we readily own; if they mean thereby the Treaſon, as it was at firſt hatched: But that they did thus confeſs, and not perſiſt in the proteſtation of their Innocency to the Death, was not be-

Compend. *p.*73. cauſe *their Conſciences would not diſpenſe with it, or their Religion not permit them to be obſtinate and forſwear themſelves*, (as a late Author of theirs would have us believe)

v. Pag.35, 40,& 46. but for other reaſons; as I have ſhewed at large before. For I queſtion, not but that as *Faux* did *lay the blame at firſt wholly upon himſelf*: ſo he would have ſworn to it alſo, if it had not been the Torture that he ſtood more in awe of, than his Conſcience. It was upon this ſcore and not his Religion, as the Author of the *Compendium* doth ſuppoſe, that *the Lords laught at his Huffing and Bravadoes*,

Compend. *p.* 73. ſince otherwiſe they would rather have put him to his Oath, than to the Rack, to have extorted a Confeſſion from him; and therefore to make uſe of his caſe amongſt others,

as

as the aboveſaid Author doth, to oppoſe to the caſe of the Perſons that were lately executed, and that denied the Fact at their Execution, is nothing to the purpoſe. Before Their caſe then will be of uſe to the vindication of Theſe, now, they muſt prove that the whole Plot was at that time confeſſed by the Conſpirators, that they never denied any thing which they were upon Oath charged with, and that they had no Principles to warrant them if they did. But the contrary to theſe is manifeſt, as hath been already ſhewed, and ſo can do them little ſervice. Without doubt had the Traytors then had as much Power to conceal the whole, as they did the greateſt part of it, and could as well have kept to themſelves what they did confeſs, as well as what they did not, we had been little the wiſer. They then were of the ſame Religion, & acted upon the ſame Principles as the others now; and therefore that they then did confeſs, and theſe did not, was becauſe their Circumſtances were different, and not becauſe They were guilty, and Theſe were innocent. For if the other had been in theſe Mens condition, I do not doubt but they would as obſtinately have denied; and if Theſe had been in their condition, I as little doubt but that they would have confeſſed according as they did then. The others denied, as long as Denial would do them good, and till they ſaw it could not be denied, having clear proof againſt them: And theſe did deny and obſtinately perſiſt ſo to do, for want of other proof than the Oaths of others; and ſo their denial being oppoſed to the others affirming, their forſwearing it to the other Oaths, their dying words to the others that were to live, they did not queſtion but the World would believe they had Truth on their ſide. And when the Principles and Honour of their Religion, their own Credit, and ſafety of their Friends, and the fear

Vid. pag. 35. &c.

of Damnation to boot (which often prevails with Men more then the hopes of a present Reward) do engage them; it's not impossible that they should deny, and dye in the denial of what is true.

4. The abovesaid Author adds, that *all persons indifferently, both Papists and Protestants*, &c. *believed the thing* [the Powder-Treason] *and no soul living did deny it.* Deny it, how could they, since there was Powder, and Match discovered, and *Faux* was apprehended upon the Place? Deny it how could they, since some of the Traytors were actually killed, or taken in an Insurrection; and those that were taken did confess it more or less? But what the Conspirators would have done themselves, and what others also of the same perswasion would have said, if there had been nothing, but the Oaths of Witnesses against them, we must go to their Principles and Practice to conjecture. But though they could not deny the matter of Fact, yet they have done what they could towards it; For some tell us, as hath been shewed, that *Cecil* (*to ruin the Party*) *drew those fiery men in by his subtile tricks and artifice.* Others, that *this desperate Attempt seemed rather of a private kindred or acquaintance, than of any Religion.* Nay they have the Confidence to say, *That the true Priests and Catholicks of* England *knew them* [the Traytors] *not to be Papists* &c. *and they were never Frequenters of Catholick Sacraments with any Priest*, &c. If men will dare to say these things, when their own Writings are against them, and when we read there of the great endearedness 'twixt *Catesby*'s family and the Jesuits, 'twixt *Catesby* and *Garnet*, *twixt* Sir *Everard* and *Gerard*, &c. they may as well deny the whole, and we may thereby know what they would do if they had not matter of Fact, and *overt Acts* too visibly and apparently in their way. If they

Compend. p. 74. Advocate of Conscience p. 226. Ibid. & A Plea for *Engl.* Priests printed 1621. p. 55, & 58.

they will ſay things ſo notoriouſly and evidently falſe, what may we not expect when a Plot is made out *purely by the dint of ſwearing?* (as one doth phraſe it): Though in our preſent caſe there is *more then the Credulity of people to corroborate* that Teſtimony, notwithſtanding whatever he is there pleaſed to ſay. New-Plot. p.12.

From what hath been ſaid, we may ſee how little foundation there is for the oppoſing the Plot of the Powder-Treaſon to the late one amongſt our ſelves; and how little the Proceedings and Confeſſions of the Conſpirators in the former, will ſerve to clear the Innocency of thoſe that ſuffered in the later.

But becauſe they have thus oppoſed the one to the other, I ſhall on the otherſide, before I conclude, conſider how they do agree; and that we may obſerve,

1. As the Plots were in proſecution, & before diſcovery.

2. In the way by which they were diſcovered.

3. In the event, and what happened upon and after Diſcovery.

In the firſt of theſe, I have the way in part traced out by Sir *Samuel Baldwyn, one of his Majeſties Serjeants at Law*, in Mr. *Ireland's* Trial, who doth there mention two or three Particulars, in which this Plot doth reſemble that of the *Powder-Treaſon*. And that it doth, in the matter of it, the principal Agents concerned in it, the Principles which they proceeded upon, and the way in which it was managed, *&c.* *Tryals of* Ireland, *&c.* p.12.

(1.) There is an agreement in the matter, ſo ſaith that worthy perſon, *that horrid Deſign* [of the Powder-Treaſon] *was to take away the life of the then King, to ſubvert the Government, to introduce the Popiſh Religion, and to deſtroy the eſtabliſhed Proteſtant Religion in* England; *and ſo we think our proofs will make it out, that in each of theſe particu-*

dars this Design is the same that that was. Thus far he. That it was so in that former Plot is universally acknowledged; and that it was so here is what the Evidence doth concur in. How far it was to introduce the Popish Religion, Mr *Colemans* Letter doth shew, who saith, *we have here a mighty work upon our hands, no less than the Conversion of three Kingdoms, and by that means the utter subduing of a pestilent Heresie which has domineer'd over a great part of this Northern World a long time; there was never such hopes of success since the death of our Queen Mary, as now in our days.* And how all this could be done without subverting the Government, or how both the one and the other could be done without taking away the Life of his Majesty, is not easie to be understood.

Coleman's 2d Letter in his Tryal. p. 69.

(2.) There is an agreement in the principal Agents concerned in it. *The great Actors in the Powder Treason,* saith Sir Samuel, *were Priests and Jesuits,* &c. *and so are they in this. That chiefly guided and managed by* Henry Garnet, *Provincial of the Jesuits in* England; *and the great Actor in this design is Mr.* Whitebread, *Provincial of the same Order.*

(3.) There is an agreement in the Principles which they proceeded upon. As first in General, *that any thing is lawful which may serve the Cause,* and in particular that *an Heretick Prince may be deposed and killed; That an Heretick People may be destroyed; and that a Forreign Force, to serve those ends, may be invited over, and introduced.* That these were the Principles which they in the Powder-Treason went upon, is evident from the History it self, and what hath been said before *: and they were the same considerations which gave birth and encouragement to the present Design, as we may see throughout the Trials. This was the ground of *Staley's* displeasure against the King,

* p. 25, 46, 48, 56, &c.

Stayley's Tryal p. 5.

King, *that he was an Heretick*; this was the ground of the other practices against him not only here, but also in *Ireland*. And *the subduing the pestilent Heresie which domineer'd here*, was the great reason of Mr. *Colemans* correspondence with the French King's Confessor, and of soliciting *Aid and Assistance* from thence. *Fitz Geralds Nar.* p. 7.

(4.) There is an agreement in the management of both (1.) In point of secresy, obliging one another by Oaths and the Sacrament. I have shewed that so it was in the Powder-Treason. * And that it was so here, all the Witnesses do maintain. (2.) In the secret Preparations that were made. So it was in the other, as I have shewed*. And the like information we have here of Moneys, (*a*) Forces, and (*b*) Commissions, *&c.* *Vid.* p. 31. *Ireland's* Trial. pag. 10-28. *Dugdale's* further Informat. p. 16 (*a*) *Colemans* Trial. p. 26. (*b*) *Fitz-Geralds* Nar. p. 4, *&c.*

(5.) They agree in the State they were in, and the little provocation that was given them to begin and form such a Design. So it was in the Powder-Treason, when they *had not so much as a pretended cause of grief*, as K. *James* in his Speech said, but were obliged by him, as I have shewed †. And so it had been here: For whereas by the Statute of 25 *Eliz. the Priests might be tried as such, and ought to die for it, yet they at this time have been so mercifully dealt with, as they have been suffered to live amongst us under the danger of the Statute*, as Sir *Crescwel Levins* observed: and the Laity hath been little disturbed by the enforcements of the Laws made against them. Thus it was in *England*; As the Parliament in their late Address to his Majesty, hath abundantly shewed; and how it was in *Ireland*, a Gentleman of that Nation gives us an Account. † Trials of *Whitebread*, &c. p. 10, 11. *Addres*, *Novemb.* 29. *Fitz Geralds* Narrative. p. 30.

(6.) There is an agreement in the Prophecies (as they would have them accounted) of the great Change that would happen in a short time. So it was before the *Powder Treason*, as I have shewed *. And so it was now; what *p. 16, & 25.

what Cardinal *Barbarin* ſhould ſay of this nature, hath bin depoſed before the Lord's, and Reports of the ſame kind have been very common at home and abroad, as hundreds can teſtifie.

Smith's Narrative p. 27.

2. As there was an agreement in the ſtate of things before it was diſcovered; ſo there is no little reſemblance in the way by which they were diſcovered. For, was there a Letter writ? ſo were here Papers found of *Coleman's*, and *Harcourt's*. Did there ſome confeſs then? ſo ſome did here. Did ſome of them fly and abſcond for it then? ſo they have done here alſo; as I have ſhewed before.

3. There is great reſemblance in the Event, and what happened and was done upon and after the diſcovery. As,

(1.) More was left undiſcovered than was diſcovered. What kind of help the deſign of the Powder-Treaſon required in it ſelf, and what Intelligence the State had then of Forces, Arms, Horſes and Moneys, I have before ſhewed *. And yet little of any of theſe was found out; inſomuch as an Apologiſt of theirs doth venture to plead, as to one Branch, *Where was that great ſum of Money, talk'd of, found?* or, *how much of it was confiſcated and brought into the Kings Exchequer?* And ſo it happened now; for tho the Deſign could not be carried on without, and Information accordingly hath been given of Proviſions made in that kind; yet what from the pretences thoſe Forces and Moneys were raiſed under (as we have the Account*) what from the diſtribution of Arms into ſeveral hands, without keeping Stores and Magazines; what from the timely notice they had to diſpoſe of them; not ſo much hath been diſcovered, but that alſo an Advocate of theirs, doth plead after the like manner as before, *There has not been found any ill Letter, any Commiſſion, any Bill of Exchange, any Mony, any Arms, any Horſes, or any thing elſe ſuſpi-*

* p. 20, &c.

Eudemon Apol. p. 278.

* *Fitz. Gerald's* informat. p. 11. *Smith's* Narrat. p. 30. Compend. p. 85.

tious

tions. With how much truth this is ſaid in all reſpects, *Coleman's* Letters, and Arms in ſome quantities taken, and other particulars, do prove. But yet it muſt be acknowledged that though much is proved againſt them, yet more is ſtill undiſcovered than diſcovered.

(2.) There is a great reſemblance in the ways taken to fling off what hath been diſcovered, and to conceal what hath not. As,

1. By charging it upon others. Thus we find them practiſing in the buſineſs of the Powder-Treaſon. If it had ſucceeded, the whole was to have been laid to the charge of the Puritans; and when it did not ſucceed, they tell us it was *the trick of a Miniſter of State*, and that *the Conſpirators were not Papiſts*, as hath been before declared. And that ſame method hath been obſerved now. For if the preſent Deſign had taken, and the King had been killed; *they had ſettled ſome, whom they ſhould pitch the Action upon*, and intended *to lay it upon the Presbyterians*, as hath been depoſed. But ſince its now broke forth, and hath not hitherto ſucceeded, they have taken care to charge as much of it as they can otherwhere. Firſt, There is a *ſham-Plot* ſtarted, and a Deſign laid to make the Presbyterians, or whomſoever they pleaſed ſo to call, to be the only Conſpirators. And becauſe the death of Sir *Edmund-bury*, if found upon them, would lend us a great light toward the revealing the Plot, and be no little inducement to mankind to believe it, they had thoughts of charging it *upon debauched perſons, of whom he was a proſecutor.* When that was not likely to take, they did endeavour to make the *Earl of Danby* the Contriver of it. And becauſe that was ſoon diſproved, then, its ſaid, that his own Party did murder him, and laid it upon the Papiſts to make them odious.

Bedlow's laſt Examinat. p. 5. *Dugdale's* Informat. p. 5. *Dangerfield's* Nar.

Dugdale's Informat. p. 8.

Reflections on the E. of *Danby.*

2. There

2. There is the like method taken to avoid the Charge, *by calumniating of Authority*. So they did in the Powder-Treason: Then the Judges were *Lyars*; the Privy-Councellors *cruel*, for ordering *Garnet*, and *Hall*, &c. to be tortured; (as they publiſhed, but publiſh'd falſly to the World, as hath been ſhewed before *.) And the publick Writings, and what was juſtified to be true by Authority, were ſaid to be *forged*. In like manner have they now proceeded, for they tell us that thoſe that ſuffered by the Sentence of the Court *were innocent in the judgment of unbiaſſed and diſcerning men*. That *Prance* was *threatned by the Lords that went to examine him*, and was *tortured* to make him accuſe others.

* Tit. p. 26. Vindic. p. 13. & 36. *Exercem.* paral. *Torti*, &c. p. 261. Compendium. p. 16. & 67.

Malice defeated. p. 3.

3. To avoid or weaken the Charge, falſe reports are raiſed upon thoſe that amongſt themſelves do confeſs. So in the Powder-Treaſon we are told that *Bates* and *Littleton recanted*, and that what ever *Bates* accuſed the reſt of was *through the hopes of life*, as hath been ſhewed before. * So they have proceeded at this time much after the like manner. Not to tepeat all the ſtories that they have made, or made uſe of to impair the Credit of the Witneſſes; nor to undertake to diſtinguiſh betwixt what's true and what's falſe in this matter, I ſhall only inſtance in that which is made publick to the World. Of this kind was the Deſign which was laid to charge *Oates* with *Sodomy*, and him and *Bedlow* with a *Conſpiracy againſt the Lord Treaſurer*. And, which is ſomewhat a kin to this, the tampering with *Bedlow*, to recall what he had ſaid, or to make him *eaſie* in what he ſhould ſay againſt the great Conſpirators; that ſo they might either make him theirs, or render him leſs able to hurt them, when they could accuſe him of liſtning to ſuch Propoſals.

*P. 63, & 65

V. The printed Narat.

Mr. *Reading*'s Trial.

4. They did endeavour to diſguiſe and conceal it, by being

being obstinate when apprehended. This hath been before discourſed of with reſpect to the Gunpowder-Treaſon * when they denied whatever could be denied, and equivocated in what was not to be denied, even to the death. And thus it was in this preſent Plot. Without doubt had *Coleman's* Letters not been taken, all the Correſpondence that was maintained in that way betwixt him and the French King's Confeſſor, would as obſtinatly be denied, as it was by him, that any ſuch was continued after 1675, which was the year the laſt of thoſe Letters was dated in. Or had not the Letter been found amongſt *Harcourt's* Papers, which mentions the Conſult *April* 24th, they would ſooner have denied the thing, than have rack'd their Wit to have put it upon the ſcore of a *Triennial meeting*. Things that were not to be denied, 'tis no wonder if they do confeſs; but things that depend upon yea and no, 'tis no wonder that they do deny. This *Hall* and *Garnet* did practiſe, and the ſame liberty that they took, 'tis likely the perſons of late amongſt us alſo did uſe, when they have the ſame Principles, to allow it.

* P. 34, &c. p. 63, & 84.

From what hath been ſaid we ſee, that the Powder-Treaſon and this preſent Plot do agree in far more Circumſtances than they differ, and thoſe that they differ in are not ſo great but they are capable of an eaſie accommodation. And this leads me to the

3. General. To ſhew the ground of that difference which is betwixt Plot and Plot, Criminals and Criminals. And the great inſtance is, the Confeſſion of the one, and Denial of the other. This an Author of theirs doth triumph in; *I challenge*, ſaith he, *all mankind to aſſign a Cauſe of this difference with the leaſt colour of Reaſon and Humanity.* But, as I have before ſaid *, He muſt firſt prove that the Conſpirators then did confeſs ingenuouſly, candidly and freely. For if they confeſs'd what they could not deny; if

New Plot p. 18.

* p. 85.

they again would have denied what they had confeſſed; if, further, they did often equivocate when they did pretend to confeſs; if, laſtly, they did deny and conceal more of what they knew, then they did confeſs and diſcover, as I have made it evident they did *: Then *Garnets* Confeſſion is equal to *Whitebread's* Denial; and *Whitebread's* Denial differs not materially from *Garnet's* Confeſſion. Both theſe may be, and yet there be *no new Creed, nor new Faith ſince thoſe days amongſt them*; as the aforeſaid Author would infer there muſt, upon this different event, if we allow not both to be innocent. Denying and confeſſing are indeed in themſelves incompatible, and had it bin true which the above-cited Authors do ſay, that *all of the Conſpirators in the Powder-Treaſon did acknowledge their Treaſons, and asked God and the King pardon* (which I have ſhewed to be otherwiſe *) and impartially confeſſed all that they knew of that matter; then their Confeſſion might be well oppoſed to theſe men's Denial: but when the Confeſſion was ſo reſtrained and qualified (as I have above ſhewed) it's a plain ſign, that had there bin nothing but Conſcience and Principles in their way (as theſe pretend) they would have taken another courſe; and the *Scævola Faux*, that had the Courage to ſay, and without doubt to do what he ſaid, that *if he had happened to be within the Houſe, as he was without, when they took him, he would not have failed to have blown up Himſelf, Them, Houſe and all*: and he that alſo *laid all the blame upon himſelf*, and would *own no Complices*, would have died with the ſame Roman reſolution, had not the Rack brought him to better manners *. This Sir *Everard Digby* did believe of him, *I knew*, ſaith he, *that he* [*Faux*] *had been imployed in great matters, and till Torture, ſure he carried it very well.* There is a time that it is either not poſſible, or to no purpoſe to deny, and then there can be no trial of a Man's Principles.

Thus

* p. 37, &c.

New Plot. Ibid.

* p. 46.

Proceed. p. 37.

* *As I before obſerved p.* 84. *Paper 9.*

Thus it was with *Watſon* and *Clark* in King *James*'s time, who knew that they were betrayed by the Jeſuits, and ſo were thereby diſabled to *prevent the danger and ſcandal likely to befal their Party by their Confeſſion*, had they been willing to *ſwear they were innocent, and to take it upon their death.* There was not an opportunity for them to make that Experiment upon themſelves, nor to give us an Evidence how far *their Conſciences would have diſpenſed with ſo doing.* And ſo it was no fit caſe for the above ſaid Authour to oppoſe to this at preſent for that reaſon as well as another, *viz.* that they were not Jeſuits, nor of their Party. They muſt make the circumſtances the ſame, and ſhew that what was then confeſſed, was ſincere & free, full and particular; that they never did deny when asked upon Oath, nor equivocate in what they did confeſs, nor ever unſay what they had ſaid; before we can believe they did confeſs meerly becauſe *their Conſciences could not diſpence with ſo horrid a thing* (as that Author calls it) *as ſwearing they were innocent, and taking it upon their death.* But if they cannot prove this, and the caſe is apparently otherwiſe, as I have before ſhewed; then for all this diſcourſe and buſtle of theirs, *in comparing the Powder-Treaſon with this Plot, and the Paſſages and Comportments of the Criminals upon that occaſion, with theſe of our modern pretended* (as they ſay) *Conſpirators*, we are ſtill where we were, and have good reaſon to believe that both Thoſe then, and Theſe now did act by like Principles and Meaſures; and that they did confeſs or deny with the like ſincerity that our Author gave a Book that he writ in defence of the Papiſts and Popiſh Traitors, the Title of *the new Plot of the Papiſts, to transform Traitors into Martyrs*; and call'd that a *New Plot*, which we in *England* know to be as ancient as the days of *Thomas a Becket*.

Compend. P. 73.

FINIS.

CONTENTS of the History of the Powder-Treason.

THE Rise of the Powder-Treason, page 2, &c.
The Treason it self, 5
The Confederates, and the Oath of Secresie, 5, 6, 7
The way of managing it, 7
The Letter to the Lord Monteagle, 11
By whom writ, 19
The King's interpretation of it, 13
The discovery upon it, 15
The Insurrection of the Traitors in Warwickshire, and their Apprehension, 16, 17
Their Examination, 18
and Arraignment, 25
and Execution, 26
The Apprehension of Garnet and Hall, p. 19 & 20. Their Examination, p. 26. Their Tryal & Execution, 29
The flight of some of the Conspirators beyond Sea, and their favourable reception there, 30

CONTENTS of the Vindication.

Sect. 1. p. 2.

THe Conspiracy of the Powder Treason was not the Contrivance of a Minister of State. An Account of the Letter wrote to the Lord Monteagle, that it was not written by a Decoy, and that Tresham was no such. A Character of the Apologists that wrote upon this subject. The Correspondence that is maintained betwixt the Jesuits. Their Calumnies. An account of the Breves of Clement the 8th, and of the Lord Balmerinoch's Letter.

Sect. 2. p. 20.

That more were concerned in the Powder-Treason than were publickly known. The Design it self considered. The Character of the persons chiefly concerned in it. The Provisions made for it. The Prayers which were then used. An account of the Evidence then given. The Confession of the Traitors imperfect. That what they confessed was not from Conscience. Their Obstinacy, especially in concealing the Priests.

Sect. 3. p. 53.

Those that fled and suffered for the Powder Treason were really guilty. What Jesuits were in it. The Tryal of Garnet. That something related in Confession may and ought to be discovered. Garnet had the knowledg of the Plot out of Confession. That He and the other Jesuits did satisfie the Consciences of the Scrupulous.

Sect. 4. p. 67.

That the Powder-Treason was undertaken upon the account of Religion. That King James gave them no assurance of Favour.

Sect. 5. p. 71.

That the Church of Rome never gave any real and good satisfaction of the abhorrency of that Treason. The Commendations which they give of the Traitors. The Saintship which they give to Garnet and Hall. The favour which those that fled for it found at Rome.

Sect. 6. p. 76.

The Powder-Treason and the present Popish Plot compared. That they agree in more things than they differ; and what they differ in, are not so material as what they do agree in.

THE HISTORY OF THE Powder-Treason, WITH A VINDICATION OF THE PROCEEDINGS, and Matters relating thereunto, from the Exceptions made against it, and more particularly of late years by the Authour of the *Catholick Apologie*, and Others.

To which is added,

A PARALLEL betwixt That and the present Popish Plot.

John Williams

LONDON,
Printed by *J. D.* for *Richard Chiswell*, at the Rose and Crown in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard. 1681.

(6). 95.(1)P

THE HISTORY

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Errata's *in the History of the Gunpowder-Treason.*

PAge 8. l. *ult.* for 20 read *16.* After p. 20, false paged. P. 28. l. 23. r. *Catesby.* P. 30. l. 19. f. *Everard,* r. *Gerard*; f. *when,* r. *where.* P. 31. l. 12. expunge *that.*

In the Vindication.

Page 17. lin. 4. read *reserve.* P. 32. Marg. l. 2. r. *9.* P. *36.* Marg. l. 14. r. 313. P. 40. Marg. f. *ibid.* r. *Antilog.* p. 146. P. 47. Marg. dele *l. ult.* P. 48. Marg. dele *l. 9.* P. 54. l. 1. r. *Wykes.* P. 55. l. 18. r. *Conjurationis.* P. 57. l. *ult.* f. *yet* r. *that.* Marg. dele *Paper* 418. P. 60. Marg. f. *ibid.* r. *Proceeds.* P. 61. Marg. l. 8. r. 248. P. *63.* l. 20. r. 338.

To the Reader.

IN *compiling the* History of the Gunpowder-Treason, *published two Years since, I had a particular respect to Brevity and Truth, that I might neither burthen nor abuse the Reader. How far I attained the former, the Book it self doth shew; and that I might not mistake in the latter, I did with good heed and diligence consult not only the Histories foreign and domestick, but also all other Books which I could meet with, written* pro *and* con *upon that subject. But all this while I had neither seen nor heard of the* large Reply *in Vindication of the* Catholick Apology, *written by a Person of as great Wit as Honour; in which I afterwards found there was a particular Discourse upon this Argument. I must confess that the Honourable Author hath as well acquitted himself as could be expected in a Case of this nature, and by the reviving and skilful disposing of what hath bin said by others, and starting many things not taken notice of, that I know of, before, hath put a pretty*

Varniſh upon the Cauſe, and made it paſſable with inconſiderate Perſons. But if what is there ſaid be warily view'd, I do not queſtion, but it will appear to be founded rather upon conjecture, than ſolid Hiſtory, and to have more of fancy than truth in it. But whether this be ſo or not, or whether what I have here ſaid will make it evident or no, I muſt now leave to the Judicious and ſuch as will be concerned impartially to inquire into the merits of the Cauſe. If it ſhould be expected that I ſhould have taken notice of ſome other late Books of our Adverſaries that touch upon this Subject, I have only this to ſay, that I have not willingly overlooked any; and as for thoſe that I have ſeen, I find little or nothing which is not the ſame with what is ſaid in the foreſaid Reply, and that hath not for the moſt part bin borrowed from it.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE Gunpowder-Treason VINDICATED.

THE Conſpiracy of the *Gunpowder-Treaſon*, carried in its front, ſo much of unnatural cruelty, that with all their Art the Party could put no colour upon it: and therefore there hath been nothing wanting amongſt them to vindicate themſelves and their Religion from being concerned in it. Sometimes they will ſlander Authority, and make the Judges and Council to Conſpire againſt them. Sometimes the whole was the contrivance of a Miniſter of State. Sometimes the Traitors were but very few, and they ſuch as were young and raſh, quick to reſent a provocation, and eaſily inclined to revenge it. Sometimes it was in thoſe diſcontent, & not Religion. And if any or all of theſe will ſerve to ſtop the mouths of their Adverſaries and protect themſelves, they will boldly ſtand up in their own vindication; And that they have reaſon to ſay all this, is what they do

do maintain. I ſhall therefore conſider their ſeveral pleas, and do think that I ſhall take in all that they ſay, and ſhew it to be very weak and inſufficient, if I make good,

1. That this was a Plot of their own, and not contrived to their hands by their Adverſaries,

2. That more were concerned in it, than were at that time publickly known and accuſed.

3. That thoſe that fled and ſuffered for it were really guilty.

4. That this Conſpiracy was purely upon the account of Religion.

5. I ſhall add, that they never yet gave to the world any real and good ſatisfaction of their abhorrency of it.

Of what great uſe it will be, if they could prove the whole to be anothers device, I cannot well underſtand. For if it could be made as clear as the day that a *Miniſter of State* drew the Conſpirators into the nooze, and had ſuch as from time to time did give him intelligence how their affair ſtood, will it ſerve to clear their innocency, and make the Plot on their part to be none? was there all the while no evil inclination of their own to work upon, and no miſchief intended by them? were they drawn in without their conſent? or were they not drawn in at all, but the whole accuſation a Fiction, and it no better than *a ſeeming Plot*, as one ſuggeſts? If not, why is this ſo vigorouſly urged, and ſo much enlarged upon by our late Apologiſts? But yet how little ſhadow of proof there is for this, will appear if we conſider how inconſtantly theſe ſpeak as to this matter. For if we will hearken to the man *of 70 years* when he died (who is for that reaſon preſumed to be a perſon of ſome credit in the caſe by the honourable Author above ſaid) he ſaith, *Fuit non levis ſuſpitio, &c.* that *there was no light ſuſpicion of a certain Peer's being acquainted*

Catholick-Apology with reply. p. 404.

p. 412.

Hiſt. p. 310.

quainted with the Conſpiracy long before its diſcovery, who cunningly pretended ignorance that the more might be involved in it. It was in his time (it ſeems) a ſuſpicion, and a ſuſpicion that that Noble-man knew of the Conſpiracy, *i.e.* by the intelligence he kept with ſome of them. But in the current of ten or twelve years, from a ſuſpicion it comes to a certainty; from his being privy to it, it comes to be his proper Invention. For now its ſaid *to be ſet a work by the diſcoverers; to be a trick invented by the States-man*, and *to be a ſeeming Plot; and that they were drawn into it by the dexterity of a Proteſtant.* It was in *More's* time ſome Noble man thus was ſuſpected, but now upon the ſole credit of Mr. *Osborn*, it muſt be the Treaſurer (meaning I believe *Cecil*, tho at the time of this Treaſon he was Secretary only) and he for his good ſervice was made an Earl, as our Author ſaith; altho as luck would have it, he was ſo created on the Saturday after St. *George's* day, *Ann.* 1605, which was above ſix months before this Treaſon broke out.

Apol. *p.* 403, 404.

p. 538.

Apol. *p.* 411. Baker's Chr. *An.* 1605.

So inconſiſtent are Perſons with themſelves, when they have not truth on their ſide; and ſo apt are they to catch at any little thing, when they ſerve a Cauſe or a Party.

For is it not an eaſie thing to raiſe ſuch a report, and have we not reaſon to believe ſuch will do it, whoſe intereſt it is to diſcharge themſelves of it, and who as they would deny it if they could, ſo would to be ſure extenuat it when it is not to be denied? Can we think that they who contrived to *caſt the whole upon the Puritans*, if it had ſucceeded, were not as able and willing when it miſcarried to *place the name of* Cecil *in their Regiſter, as the Maſter-workman* (as the above ſaid Author ſaith that *Sanderſon* doth acknowledg) and to make him the deviſer of it?

Wilſon great *Brit.* p. 32.

p. 412.

Further

Apol.p.414. Furthermore is it not uſual for ſuch as would be accounted *Men of Wit* (which the *Apol.* ſaith Mr. *Osborn* was noted for) to allow little of that in others; and for ſuch as
P. 236, pretend to be *Inquiſitive & Politicoes* (as the *Apol.* ſaith *Tacitus* did) to *have every thing a Myſtery*? can we think that he that ſlubbers over what K. *James* did well, and continually expoſeth him in what he thinks he did ill; that will hardly allow him to have any ſenſe of Honour and Religion; would not be ſhy alſo of allowing him one dram of ſagacity above other men to find out a Riddle, or any greater title to divine Providence to help him to unfold it? Can we think that he, that was a *frequenter of company, and inquiſitive*, (as this Author ſaith *Osborn* was) could be ignorant of ſuch rumours as were ſcattered at that time abroad by the party concerned (if ſuch there were); or that he that had a ſpite at the Court, would not maliciouſly improve them? And is there any reaſon to believe the one or the other upon their bare affirmation? I do not think that the credit of ſuch will paſs at this time abroad without better Certificates, and therefore ſince this
P. 413. honourable Perſon is he alone that *hath urged ſome Arguments for it*, as he affirms; I ſhall conſider what he hath
P. 410. ſaid. And, in the firſt place, I think what he hath ſaid concerning the Letter ſent to the Lord *Monteagle* to be very remarkable, upon which he obſerves, *That it's pleaſant to ſee in moſt of the Relations and Accounts of this Buſineſs, how the Letter appeared Nonſence forſooth to* Cecil, *and with what a particular adulation he ſeemed all along to admire the King's Comment and Expoſition; for though his Majeſty had as much Wit as any man living, yet the Affair was ſo plain, that one of a far leſs capacity could not miſcarry in it.* Herein I muſt confeſs he is very ſingular, and I am of his mind
P. 413. when he ſaith, *perchance I have bin the firſt that urged the preſent*

preſent Arguments. For to this day all the World hath bin of another opinion; and without doubt whoever had ſeen the Letter before the event did unriddle it, muſt have no more thought of ſuch a deſign then thoſe that read the Caſe, that *Del Rio* put, of *powder being placed ſo, that the Prince and all that are in the City would be thereby deſtroyed*, could think of the reſpect which that had to *England*. Will we hearken to their ſtout Apologiſt, he acknowledgeth that *Rex & ingenio per ſe acer, & periculo factus acrior*, &c. *the King naturally of a ſharp wit, and by his danger made more quick, when he could conceive no other way by which the Parliament ſhould be deſtroyed, ſuſpected, as it was, that it muſt be by ſome Mine, and ſo cauſed the place to be ſearched.* If *Barclay* be to be heeded, the King was Divinely inſpired. Nay, if *Bellarmine* * be to be credited, *it was not diſcovered without a Miracle of Divine Providence.* And after all theſe it will be of ſome Authority with Proteſtants, not only that King *James* in his Speech on that occaſion ſaith *it was miraculous*; and that when *a general obſcure Adverti ſement was given of ſome dangerous blow at this time*, I *did* (ſaith he) *upon the inſtant interpret and apprehend ſome dark Phraſes therein, contrary to the ordinary Grammar conſtruction of them (and in another ſort than I am ſure any Divine, or Lawyer in any Univerſity would have taken them) to be meant by this horrible form of blowing us all up by Powder.* But alſo the Lords and Commons in Parliament declared, *that the Plot would have turned to the utter ruin of this whole Kingdom, had it not pleaſed Almighty God, by inſpiring the King's moſt excellent Majeſty with a Divine Spirit to interpret ſome dark phraſes of a Letter ſhewed to his Maieſty, above and beyond all ordinary conſtruction, thereby miraculouſly diſcovering this hidden Treaſon.* After all which, whether I ſhall, with the aforeſaid Author, ſay

P. 415.

V. Diſcourſe of the original of the Powder-Plot. p. 4. &c.

Apol. pro. Garneto. p. 266.

* Tortus p. 83. edit Colon.

Act of Parliament for 5. *Nov.*

P. 408.

 that

that the words of that Letter are obvious (and which he by way of ſcorn calls the Miraculous Letter) or, with Sir *Edward Cook* in his Speech, ſay upon the Authority aforeſaid, *that the King was divinely inſpired by Almighty God, the only Ruler of Princes, like an Angel of God, to direct and point out as it were to the very place, to cauſe a ſearch to be made, out of thoſe dark words of the Letter, concerning* [*a terrible Blow*] I leave the world to judg. But he will not only have the Letter plain for the matter of it, but alſo undertakes to find out the Authour, which he will needs have to be the *Stateſ-man*; and thinks to come off with a pretty Query or two. *Is it poſſible* (ſaith he) *to imagin that any Man could be ſo mad, after he and his Partizans had brought their Plot to that perfection, had ſo ſolemnly ſwore by the Trinity and Sacrament never to diſcloſe it directly or indirectly, by word or circumſtance; and had reſolved to blow up all the Catholick Lords, and the reſt of their Friends,* &c. *To fancy that a man ſhould write a Letter, that had more in it of a Plot againſt the State, than the bare ſaving of a Friend.* Again, *Suppoſe this, yet what need was there to write, that God and Man would puniſh the Parliament,* &c. *and a hundred other circumſtances not only ſuſpicious, but to no manner of purpoſe, unleſs intended for the detection of the whole Intrigue? Beſides, no man really engaged in the Treaſon (had he bin never ſo great a Fool) would have given warning ten days before the Plot was to be executed.* And ſo he goes on to ſhew how *this warning was quite oppoſite to the deſigns of a Conſpirator,* &c. *but beneficial to a Machiavilian.*

P. 405. Proceedings P. 118.

P. 405.

P. 406.

P. 407.

P. 409.

P. 410.

From all which we may obſerve how much may be ſaid by a man of Wit, to baffle any Cauſe that he undertakes to overthrow; ſince this that he hath ſaid, is in the ground of it falſe (as hath elſewhere bin ſhewed,) and what if I had no proof of it, yet what this Honourable

Perſon

Perſon ſaith, is far from proving what he deſigns. For he diſcourſeth as if no one ever had bin falſe to the Oath of ſecrecy which he had taken in any Conſpiracy; or as if there were no perſons in the World had ever done this with allowance. He diſcourſeth as if no Perſon that had a Deſign to deſtroy multitudes without compaſſion, could not be over-ruled to ſpare one alone from a particular affection. He ſuppoſeth that no one in writing a Letter to that purpoſe could unwittingly let fall ſuch things as might beget ſuſpicion, and be a means of diſcovering the Deſign. He ſuppoſeth again that no one in ſo doing can be over-ruled by the Providence of God to go beyond what he did intend, and to betray what he reſolved to keep ſecret. Now if any, or all of theſe things be true, the Letter might have bin written by one that was privy to the Plot, by *Percy* or any of the reſt, without the help of his *Machiavilian*, notwithſtanding what ever he hath bin pleaſed to ſay to the contrary. But if it was writ by him, why was it put into my Lord *Monteagle's* hand, who was a Roman-Catholick, and who muſt have bin a Confident of *Cecils*, and privy to the whole affair? or elſe it might have miſcarried through the hands of the Perſon that carried it, or the hands of him that received it (it being a kind of a Note, and delivered in the evening) or that Lord might have *contemn'd the Admonition, as coming from an idle Fellow in the ſtreet*, as this Authour ſaith, and throw it aſide; or he might have concealed and diſowned it. Or if it had come ſafe, and that Lord did, as he did, diſcover and deliver it, yet the King himſelf might have happened not to have had the ſharpneſs of our Authours wit, and bin alike dull as others; and then the whole intention of the Letter had bin loſt, which was as he ſaith *to have the thing diſcovered*; And ſo the Secretary had loſt

History of the Gunpowder-Treaſon, p. 19. ℣. 2

P. 410.

P. 411.

the opportunity of *making his vigilance appear*, and miſſed *of the reward of being made an Earl for his Service*; which are the reaſons the above ſaid Author gives of the whole. And now I ſhould have diſmiſſed this long Diſcourſe of the Letter, but that he ſpends above a page in ſhewing the folly of giving ten days warning, if all had not bin by the deſign of the aforeſaid Stateſman. Why it was delay'd on the Secretary's part, *Thuanus* and others do give the reaſon, *viz.* That the King being then at *Royſton*, they kept the Letter till his return, which was Friday *Novemb.* 1. when it was ſhewed him, and it was the next day brought into the Council, where it was ordered that ſearch ſhould be made, which was deferrd till Monday evening, that they might give no occaſion to Rumour or Jealouſie.

And why it was ſent ſo long before (if I may gueſs for once as well as our Author hath often) I conceive it might be that the Lord *Monteagle* might have time to find out ſome pretence for his abſence, or becauſe the Perſon that wrote it had a ſure hand to ſend it by.

Having thus fixed upon one for a Contriver of the Conſpiracy, and withal made him to be the Author of the aforeſaid myſterious Letter, this ingenious Perſon did perceive that he had ſtill ſaid nothing, unleſs he was able to point to one that ſhould be a conſtant ſpy upon the Conſpirators, and an uſeful intelligence to the projecting States-man; and in ſo doing he ſpares not to charge one who may be well ſuppoſed as little liable to a temptation to be thus made uſe of, as any of the Fraternity, and that is Mr. *Treſham*. For what ſhould induce him to ſo great perfidiouſneſs? Could it be a vile education that ſhould thus debaſe his mind to decoy his dear Relation (for I am told by a certain Author, that he and *Catesby* were Siſters

Advocate for Liberty p. 226.

Sisters Children) and intimate Friends into such a Design, and having thus decoy'd them to leave them to the rigor of the Law? This might perhaps lie against a *Bates*, who was but a menial Servant; but *Tresham* was a Gentle-man of an ancient Family, and had an education suitable to his extraction. Could it be necessity, and this a course made use of to patch up his broken Fortunes? This might have bin a reason for a *Keyes*, whose Fortunes were sunk (as he acknowledged upon the Trial) but *Tresham* had a plentiful Estate and promised to contribute 2000 *l.* towards the Design. Could it be a coldness in their Religion, or that he really was of none? The contrary to that is evident, in that rather than put *Garnet* into danger, or not clear him of what he had before confessed against him, he chose to die with an apparent Lye in his mouth, and did pawn his Salvation to verify it. Could it lastly be from a doubtfulness of the issue, and a resolution to provide for his own safety? That we find not a tittle of; but that he might have done and provided for theirs too by obliging them to desist from their Design for fear of discovery; that he might have done and never discover'd them, or taken such a base course to procure. So that if we consider the thing in it self, it might have bin as well *Catesby* or *Percy* (whom an Author of theirs would also fasten a suspicion in that kind upon) or any, as *Tresham*.

Proceedings p. 56.

Proceedings p. 177.

Advocate of liberty. p. 225.

But there are some Reasons offered from this suspicion; for *Tresham was suspected by themselves* saith the *Apol.* But what was he suspected of, not of being a Spy or a Setter, but of having sent the Letter to the Lord *Monteagle*; So saith *Tho. Winter* in his confession; *When* Catesby, Tresham, *and I met at Barnet, we questioned how this Letter should be sent to my Lord* Monteagle, *but could not conceive; for Mr.* Tresham *forsware it, whom we only suspected*; and this he might

Apol. p. 416.

Proceedings p. 58.

might write, and be no ſuch Perſon; nay it's certain if he had writ this Letter, he could be no Decoy, ſince there would then have bin no need to give his Lordſhip any ſuch warning; when he, being privy to the whole Tranſaction, was ſure that the Deſign would be diſcovered, and prevented, and ſo neither the Lord nor any elſe, but the Conſpirators, be in danger.

Apol. *ibid.* Well, but *Treſham hanckered about the Court when all his fellow Conſpirators fled*, And ſo it's likely he did, that he might not by his flight give any ſuſpicion; but when he was ſuſpected, *he ſhifted his Lodgings*, ſaith *Thuanus*, *and ſo for a time eſcaped.* And ſurely this was more wiſely done than to fly with the reſt into the Country, where they could not but be diſcovered, and when nothing but plain force could ſecure them when diſcovered; and that they could have little hopes of, as long as King and Parliament and *London* were ſafe. But if he had bin a Decoy, what need he have hanckered about the Court, or ſculked afterwards for fear of diſcovery; *if he was* Cecils *inſtrument, and had acceſs to him at midnight* (as one, that is ready to ſwear to the certainty of whatever the foreſaid honourable Author doth with greater modeſty only ſuſpect and conjecture at, doth ſay) he knew where to be ſafe, and by whom to be received. But *a Setter may be hanged, that his Patron's Art might not be ſuſpected — and if his Creature will not be ſatisfied with words, and is like to be dangerous and unruly, 'tis then only ſaying he died of a Strangury, or ſome ſudden Diſtemper in Priſon, as it happened here to* Treſham, *who, leſt he ſhould diſcover it, was never brought to a publick Trial, but was with another* [nameleſs Perſon] *ſent to the Tower, and they were never ſeen afterwards, leſt they ſhould tell tales*, as an excellent Romancer tells us. Surely *Treſham* was in the deepeſt Dungeon, where none but the

Advocate for Liberty. p. 225.

Apol. p. 415, 416.

Advocate for Liberty. p 225.

ſowr

ſowr Keeper could come to ſpeak with him. Surely he never ſpoke word, but all on the ſudden by the power of ſome poiſonous Potion was made to ſleep his laſt, and being found dead, it was given out he died of the Strangury. But now what if this Man did indeed die of the Strangury? what if he did die while his Wife and Servant were with him? What if he did not die ſo ſuddenly, but that his Wife dealt with him to recant what ever he had ſaid againſt *Garnet*, and to ſubſcribe a Paper to that purpoſe? Why then it's to be feared that they muſt ſeek for another to bear the part of a Spy, and let Mr. *Treſham* die as the reſt of the knot did, true ſo far to one another, tho never ſo falſe to their King and Country. And this I ſhall prove beyond any queſtion; For if *Cecil* was the Contriver of this Plot (as they give out) then *Treſham* could not be his Agent; ſince the whole was communicated to *Winter* in the latter end of the Year 1603: but *Treſham* was not acquainted with it, nor taken in to the number till about *Auguſt* 1605, as appears from *Winters* Confeſſion. So that either the Plot muſt not be *Cecils*, or *Cecil* muſt carry it on for a year and a half without ſuch a Factor, or elſe he muſt have another that he did thus employ than *Treſham*. But if there was ſuch a Sateſman to contrive, and ſuch an intelligence to carry it on; how came the Conſpirators, who had ſome ſuſpition it ſeems of *Treſham*, not to make uſe of ſuch a Plea to excuſe themſelves, or mitigate their Crime, either upon their Examination and Trial, or at their Execution? Whence again was it that thoſe, that in thoſe days writ Apologies for them, never offered at this, altho they were ſuch as were furniſhed with Intelligence enough to have found it out, and Sagacity enough to have made uſe of it, if it had bin true? To the latter of theſe the anſwer is ready: *The firſt Apologiſts* (ſaith our Authour)

Proceedings p. 176.

Proceedings p. 47, 56.

Apol. p. 411.

Author) *were ſtrangers, as* Bellarmine, Eudæmon, Johannes, &c. *who perchance either knew not the grounds of our ſuſpicion, or if they did, would not in print accuſe a great Noble-man of a Crime, while, though true, could not yet be made good, and ſufficiently proved by them, for time and patience can only bring ſuch deeds of darkneſs to light.* It muſt be confeſſed that the Perſons he ſpeaks of were ſtrangers, but whether ſtrangers to our affairs or not, is hardly to be queſtioned: There being ſo conſtant, ſettled, and exact a Correſpondence maintained betwixt the Superiours and Inferiours of the Order of the Jeſuits (of which Order theſe *Apologiſts* were) that hardly any be greater. For the Rectors and Superiours of any College muſt every day write down the Tranſactions of their Houſe, and every week write to the Provincial, if in *Europe*, and with ſuch exactneſs, *ut omnia tanquam præſentia Provincialis cernat*, that the Provincial may underſtand all things by that means as if he was preſent. The Miſſionaries, who are employed abroad, are obliged *to write alſo to the Provincial every week concerning ſuch Affairs as they are concerned in, and ſuch matters as they obſerve. The Provincials are under the ſame obligation of writing to their General at* Rome *once every month; and in that manner alſo, ut omnium rerum, omniumque perſonarum ac Provinciarum ſtatum, quoad ejus fieri poſſit, ante oculos habeat.* So that the General may as it were have before his eyes, as much as can be, the ſtate of all Things, Perſons, and Provinces: But *if this monthly and weekly writing be not ſufficient; in extraordinary caſes, it is to be as often as there is a neceſſity for it: provided that in matters of Secrecy it be in ſuch Cyphers as the General ſhall appoint, and none but him ſhall have a Key to.* Now who can apprehend, that any thing in a caſe fit to be obſerved ſhould not be known as well at *Rome* as *London*;

Regulæ ſocietatis Ieſu authoritate Congregat. Generalis auctor. cap. Formulæ ſcribendi. Reg. 2, 3, 4.

Reg. 5.

Reg. 7, & 11.

Reg. 9.

Reg. 18.

and

and that those who are so punctual in lesser matters should not be as precise in understanding and making their observations upon a case, which the reputation of their Religion and Society were infinitely concerned in. And as for *Eudæmon-Johannes*; besides he saith *Neq; verò mirum*, &c. *let not any one wonder, that I write freely, not only of the manners and customs of* England; *but also sometimes of secret affairs, when from my youth up I have bin very conversant with them.* So that his converse with them, and the intelligence of his order furnished him with all things necessary for an Apologist, and withall he further pretends that *ctiamnum versatur Romæ*, &c. *there are those now at* Rome, *who took not only the words but the Syllables Garnet* spoke before his execution. So punctual do they desire and would be thought to be in things of this nature,

Apol.pro. Garneto P.3.

Apol. Pro. Garneto c. 12.p.332.

But further the *Apologist* saith, that *those persons would not in print accuse a Noble-man of a Crime*, &c. as if they were very backward to speak ill of any; though it be in their own vindication. But what then shall be said to the above said Author, who calls Sr. *Edward Coke an impudent man, and the greatest forger of Lyes and Calumnies*, And saith of him, *that he looks upon it as dishonorable to himself, to let any thing pass from him without a lie to back it*; and yet this person whom he thus reviles was at the time of his writing Lord Chief Justice, as he owns. What shall we say to *Bellarmine* in his reply to King *James* under the name of *Tortus*, who treats his Majesty *in such terms, as neither became a Church-man to give, nor a Prince to take* (saith Dr. Hakewel) *giving me nine times the lye in express terms, and seven times charging me with falsehood, which Phrase is equivalent to a lye*; as King *James* himself saith. And besides other things of that kind there enumerated, compares him with *Julian the Apostate*, and saith

Apol.pro. Garneto P.13. 212. P. 227. P. 1. & 228.

Answer to Carier. P.225. Premonition in his Works. p. 294.

V. Tortur. Tort. p.101, 102. *Jacobus non eſt Chriſtianus*; *that James* (not vouchſafing to call him King) *was no Chriſtian.* Whence it appears they are not over thrifty of reproaches where there is occaſion, and the greatneſs of the perſon ſhall not protect him from them, where they have a mind to beſtow them. But what can we expect from ſuch as will tell us in the face of the World *that* Treſham *was a Decoy*, that *there were but four Gentlemen in the powder-Treaſon*, that *theſe four were neceſſitous or looſe perſons*; and *that if any of theſe were Papiſts, or ſo died, they were not ſo long before*; Things altogether as true, as that *Percy and Catesby had no weapons but their Swords*; and that *there was little intimacy betwixt the Lord* Monteagle *and* Percy. And yet all theſe falſhoods are to be met with in a few pages of an Advocate of theirs. Such as will dare thus to contradict, not only our, but their own Books in ſuch evident particulars (as thoſe above mentioned, and which any one may be ſatisfied about in the Books referred to in the Margent) when it may ſerve their turn; Such as will not ſpare their own party in ſuch a caſe, may be preſumed to ſacrifice the Reputation of others without difficulty for the ſame end; and if they can perſwade us to believe theſe, we may be brought to believe in time there was no ſuch Plot at all, and (to make uſe of the words of a learned perſon) *if they go on in this way, without the leaſt ſhadow of proof, to lay the contrivance of this Plot on a profeſſed Proteſtant: for all that I know, by the next age they may hope to perſwade men, that it was a Plot of the Proteſtants to blow up a Popiſh King and Parliament.* So that for all that hath been ſaid to the contrary, we have reaſon to believe King *James*, who hath publiſhed to the World, that *the Gunpowder-Treaſon was only plotted by Papiſts.*

Advocate for Liberty of Conſcience p. 218, 219, 226.

p. 225.

p. 224.

Apol. pro Garnet. p. 4.

K. *James* p. 229.

Dr. *Stillingfleets* Serm. *Nov.* 5. 1673.

Premonition to all Monarchs in his works. p. 291.

Now if we reflect upon all that hath bin ſaid, and what pains hath bin taken to make *Cecil* the deviſer of all this miſchief,

miſchief; one would think that there was nothing elſe could be charged upon them; and that they had never bin before concerned in any Deſign of this nature. Who would have thought that either the Pope had iſſued out Breves to keep any Proteſtant Prince (ſuch as K. *James* was) out of the Throne: or that ever any means had bin uſed by this ſort of men to prevent it! And yet Pope *Clement* 8. ſent two Breves, one to the Laity, and another to the Clergy, to this purpoſe, in which it was required, that *quandocunq; contingeret miſeram illam fœminam ex hac vita excedere; whenſoever it ſhall happen that that miſerable Woman* [Q. Elizabeth] *ſhould depart this life; whoſoever ſhould lay claim or title to the Crown of* England, *quantumcunq; propinquitate ſanguinis niterentur*, &c. *tho never ſo directly intereſſed therein, unleſs they were ſuch as would not only tolerate the Catholick* [Romiſh] *Religion, but ſwear with all their endeavours to promote it, they ſhould not admit them to be King of* England. But *theſe Breves*, ſaith an Author of theirs, *were ſo far from being a prejudice to King* James, *that it was intended for his advantage; for there was a Letter ſent to the ſaid* Clement *(ſome two or three years before our Queens death) under the King's own Hand and Seal, by the hand (as they ſaid) of the Scots Secretary of State; and therein his Majeſty gave his Holineſs aſſurance of his being a Catholick, or to that purpoſe; therefore the Breves could not be intended to put him by, whom the Pope had already ſuch confidence in: but their drift it ſeems was againſt ſeveral* Engliſh *pretenders, as my Lord of* Hertford, *&c.* Thus far that Honourable Perſon. But if the Pope was ſo much a Friend to King *James* as to aſſert his title againſt all his oppoſers, whence was it that ſuch care was otherwiſe taken to ſet up another, and that ſuch Books were written as *Doleman*, for that purpoſe? And whence was it that money was ſent over to maintain

Proceedings p. 160, 161.

Cath. Apol p. 364.

Watſon's Quodlibets. p. 107, 241 *&c.*

Proceedings p. 186, 187.

it, as *Garnet* himſelf did confeſs? Whence came all theſe Prophecies of the confuſion and miſery that this Nation ſhould be involved in upon the death of Queen *Elizabeth*? And why then did *the Jeſuits tamper with Catholicks, as well to diſwade them from the acceptance of King* James *at his firſt coming, ſaying, that they ought rather to die, than to admit of any Heretick to the Crown; and that they might not under pain of Excommunication accept of any but a Catholick for their Sovereign; as alſo to diſwade Catholicks from their Loyalty, after the State was ſetteled?* as *Watſon* and *Clark* two Seminary Prieſts did confeſs upon their apprehenſion. What ever is pleaded now, I am ſure King *James* thought otherwiſe, who ſaith, *it may be the like excuſe* [viz. the raſhneſs of the Pope upon wrong Information] *ſhall hereafter be made for the two Breves, which* Clement 8th *ſent to* England *immediately before her death* [*Queen* Elizabeth] *for debarring me of the Crown, or any other that either would profeſs, or any ways tolerate the Profeſſors of our Religion, &c.* *Catesby* alſo was of another opinion: for when *Garnet* ſeem'd to deſire that the Pope's conſent might be obtained to the Powder-Treaſon: *Catesby* anſwered, *that he took that as granted by the Pope in the two Bulls or Breves before; For if it were lawful not to receive or nepel him* [K. James] *(as the ſaid Bulls do import) then it is lawful alſo to expel and caſt him out.* *Garnet* alſo himſelf had no ſuch thoughts, for inſtead of alledging that the King was not concerned in them, he only pleads that altho *he received them from the Pope, yet he ſhewed them to very few Catholicks in the Queens time; and when he had underſtood the Pope had changed his mind, then he burnt the Bulls.* By which he owns that they were directed againſt the King, or elſe it were no Plea for him to make, that the Pope had changed his mind, and no excuſe for himſelf, that he had burnt them.

Weſton, de triplici hom. Offic.

Proceedings p. 123.

Apology for the Oath of Allegiance in K. *James* his Works. p. 257.

Proceedings p. 167.

Proceedings p. 195, 196.

So

So King *James* himself argues against one that made use of the same shift with our Author, *If the Brevet did not exclude me from the Kingdom, but rather did include me, why did* Garnet *burn them? why would he not receive them that I might have seen them, that so he might have obtained more favour for him and his Catholicks?* So little was it then thought either by Friends or Foes that these Bulls were sent over on that Prince's behalf. But it seems the Pope had some broad intimation given him of King *James*'s affection both to his Holiness and his Religion; our Author calls it, *an assurance of his being a Catholick under his own Hand and Seal.* And truly if it had been so, I know no better Certificate could be given at that distance; but this Honourable Person did with caution add, [*to the Kings Hand and Seal*] *that it was obtained by the fraud (as they said) of the Scotish Secretary of State.* For indeed thereby hangs a tale, and tho the Intrigue of this matter hath been sufficiently discovered and made evident to the World by several learned Persons; yet because this Story hath bin revived not only by this Author, but also by a spightful Pen amongst our selves, * (whom I shall not be so severe upon, because he lately upon his Death-bed recanted that mischievous Book) I shall insert a brief account of it.

Torius's lies confuted in K. *James*'s Works. p. 341.

Bp. *Andrews Tort. Torti* p. 190. *&c. Spotswood's* Hist. *Scotl.* p. 508.

In the year 1598, the Lord *Balmerinoch* Secretary of State in *Scotland*, at the instance of his Cousin Sir *Edward Drummond*, a professed Papist, did solicit the King to write a Letter to *Clement* the VIII in the behalf of the Bishop of *Vaison*, their kinsman, for a Cardinalship: suggesting withal that it would be a means to secure the succession of the Crown to his Majesty. But the King obstinatly refusing, they did contrive to shuffle in a Letter, to that purpose, amongst others (omitting the Titles given to the Pope and leaving room for their insertion afterwards) and

*Dr. *Moulin* advances of the Church of *En.* towards Popery.

and to wait when the King was ready to go on hunting to procure his hand to that with the reſt. This Letter ſo obtained, *Drummond* carried to *Rome*; but within a while this being diſcovered to Queen *Elizabeth*, ſhe in the year 1599 ſent to the King about it. He thereupon queſtions *Balmerinoch*, who abſolutely denied it, and to give the King ſatisfaction ſent for *Drummond*, who abjured it. Thus it continued, till in the year 1608, when Cardinal *Bellarmine* undertaking to reply to the King's Apology for the Oath of Allegiance, charged him with inconſtancy upon the account of this Letter. *Balmerinoch* happen'd then to come into *England* about other matters; the firſt thing put to him at *Royſton* (where the King at that time was) was the buſineſs of this Letter, which he then confeſſed. upon this he was remitted to *Scotland*, and there Arraign'd, and Condemn'd; all the while acknowledging, *as he wiſhed God to have mercy upon his Soul, that his Majeſty was wrongfully charged with the writing that Letter.* And that he was ſo, (and ſo it could not be an argument for the Popes kindneſs to the King in thoſe Breves) will be evident, if it be conſidered,

Spotſwood's Hiſt. p. 510.

(1.) That in the year 1599 (as above ſaid) the thing was known, and the whole denied and abjured by the perſons concerned, which the Pope could not be ignorant of. For *Drummond* was not only ſent for over by *Balmerinoch* to forſwear it, but was notwithſtanding upon ſuſpicion impriſoned, and after he had obtained his Liberty, going to *Rome*, did, upon the importunity of *Balmerinoch*, by ſome art procure that Letter, and ſent it back to the Secretary, as he confeſſed.

Reſponſ. ad Tort. p. 194.

(2.) While the Pope had this Letter, he did ſhew it to all Scotſmen that came to him, enquiring if they knew the hand, and ſuffering ſome to take tranſcripts of it; which

Id. 195.

which if he had not ſuſpected, he would certainly have kept to himſelf, or communicated only to ſuch as he could truſt ſuch a neceſſary ſecret as that was, with.

(3.) The Pope never did return an anſwer to his Majeſty, nor did at all concern himſelf to do what he did deſire of him; whereas if he had believed the Letter to be the Act of that King, he would not have ſo far neglected the intereſt of the Church, as to have ſlighted it.

(4.) When not many years afterwards he, did upon his own accord write an obliging Letter to the King, he did not only omit the Title of Son, *&c.* which he doth give to all Princes of their Communion; but alſo did not take any notice of that Letter pretended to be written; which would have been a very good ground to have faſtened a deſired correſpondence upon. Id. 196.

(5.) This was the ſenſe of the Prieſts upon the point; for after this *Parſons* the Jeſuit did declare that the *King was an obſtinate Heretick, and that there was no poſſibility of his Converſion.* And *Garnet*, when in the laſt days of Queen *Elizabeth* he was ſolicited by a Gentleman of his own Religion to favour the King's Title, anſwered, *he would have nothing to do in it, for the King was ſo obdurate in his Religion, that there was no hopes of his Converſion.* Now, (as the Earl of *Northampton* then ſaid in his Speech) *every one may gueſs that it was no ſleight or ordinary degree of deſpair that made them renounce their portion in the Son and Heir of the renowned* Mary *Q. of* Scots, *a member of the Roman Church.* *Watſons* Quodlibets. p. 218. Printed, 1602. *Reſp. ad Tortum.* p. 197. Proceedings p. 136.

From which it appears that this Letter was the Letter of *Balmerinoch*, and not of King *James*; and that the Pope had no more a reſpect to it in thoſe Breves, then there was in them intended a kindneſs to that King. And from all that hath been ſaid will alſo appear, how little reaſon there is to make any other a Contriver of this Treaſon than the Conſpirators, and their own Party.

Sect.

SECT. II.

More were concerned in this Conſpiracy, than were at that time publickly known and accuſed.

Catholick-Apology p 401.

THE Author of the *Catholick Apology*, ſaith that *the Traitors were but thirteen Laymen*, viz, Catesby, Percy, *the two* Wrights, Treſham, Faux, Keys, Bates, Grant, Rookwood, *the two* Winters *and* Digby, *as all Writers have it, nor can any thing be more clear than that there were no more Conſpirators:* and he is ſo confident as to ſay, *that no body was privy to it* [except *Owen*] *but theſe few there mentioned.* Where, as he would clear the Jeſuits of it, ſo he is forgetful of the five Laymen, beſides *Hall* the Jeſuit which ſuffered upon the ſame account at *Worceſter*; and of thoſe that fled, mentioned by *Thuanus*. However that few were taken and convicted upon it, is what, with our Hiſtorians, I freely acknowledg. I ſhall further yield to this Noble Author, *that the Commons, Lords and Privy Council were ſo vigilant, that they left no ſtone unturned to find out the depth of the Plot:* but that no more were concerned than were diſcovered, or that no more were diſcovered, was becauſe no more were really concerned, is what none, but ſuch as are blinded by prejudice, or biaſſed by being of a party, can imagine.

P. 528.

Apol. p. 401.

This will appear if we conſider, the Deſign it ſelf, which was not only to blow up the Parliment-Houſe, *the place*, as *Catesby* ſaid, *where they had done all their miſchief*, or the perſons that did there contrive it; but alſo *to ſtrike at the root, and breed a confuſion fit to beget new alterations*; as *Winter* did then obſerve to him, it was to blow up

Winter's Confeſ. in Proceedings p. 48.

up the eſtabliſhed Religion to make thereby room for their own, and to diſturb the Government in order to it; and this was not to be done by fourteen Lay-men, tho we caſt in the four Jeſuits alſo to their aſſiſtance. Whilſt the Plot lay under ground, and was to be carried on by Mining, there needed only a few heads to contrive, and a few hands to execute: and that part of it which required only the Match and the Tinder, a *Faux* alone was ſufficient for; theſe might manage the more ſecret Negotiation. But if that had ſucceeded, there muſt many more have appeared upon the Stage to quiet or curb the multitude; to keep things ſafe at home, and maintain a fair Correſpondence abroad. And can it be thought that ſuch perſons, as were found to have been imployed herein, did not underſtand as much, or when they underſtood could neglect it? Can it be thought that ſuch perſons as ventured all they had in the World; the Gentlemen their Eſtates and Honours; the Jeſuits their own, and the Reputation of their Society; and all of them the honour of their Religion, and their own Lives, would put all this into jeopardy, without weighing the caſe, and all circumſtances relating thereunto? Can it be thought that *Catesby*, who was a *cautious man* (as *Thuanus* ſaith) *and one not more eminent by birth than the endowments of his mind*, as another ſaith; or *Garnet*, *who was one of a ſharp Wit, ſolid Judgment and of long Experience*, as another ſaith, (being ſeveral years Provincial of his Order) and the reſt, could lay the whole ſtreſs of ſuch an important Deſign upon ſo few as twenty Perſons? Can we think again ſuch ſhould be guilty of this omiſſion who had been engaged in Plots from time to time; and that they who could aſſure the King of *Spain* in the Spaniſh Treaſon, that upon his Invaſion *the Catholicks of* England *would have in readineſs for his uſe and Ser-*

Eudæmon. Apol. pro. *Garneto* p. 4. *Mori* Hiſt. miſs. p. 311.

Proceedings p. 92.

vice

vice 1500 *or* 2000 *Horſes*, could forget the like proviſion now, or that they could think of Horſes and provide no Riders for them? It was without doubt upon a better Army than that of a *few Servants and Horſe-Boys* (as the Author of the *Apology* reckons them up) that Sir *Everard Digby* was aſſured, that *if the Deſign had taken place there would have bin no doubt of other ſucceſs; and that there would have bin a League unſwerable to that in France.*

Cath. Apol. p. 402. Paper. 9.

The Perſons concerned herein were not ſuch Novices as to undertake ſo much upon no proſpect of good and ſufficient aſſiſtance. This they well foreſaw, and did in the beginning adviſe about, as *Winter* confeſſed; *Whilſt we were together, we began to faſhion our buſineſs, and diſcourſed what we ſhould do after this Deed was done. The firſt queſtion was, how we might ſurprize the next Heir*, &c. *and what we ſhould do for Money and Horſes, which* (ſaith he) *if we could provide in any reaſonable meaſure, having the Heir Apparent, and the firſt knowledg of four or five days, was odds ſufficient.*

Proceedings p. 53.

This we find them conſulting how to do without ſuſpicion; for *Garnet* did hereupon write to *Baldwin* the Legier Jeſuit in the Low-Countries, in the behalf of *Catesby*, that *one ſhould move the Marqueſs for a Regiment of Horſe for* Cateſby; *not with any intent, as it was agreed, that* Cateſby *ſhould undertake the Charge, but that under colour of it, Horſes and other neceſſaries might be provided without ſuſpicion to furniſh the Traitors.* This we find further that they had done; for *Watſon* and *Clark*, Prieſts, at their apprehenſion, did affirm that there was ſome Treaſon intended by the Jeſuits, and then in hand; as for other Reaſons, ſo for that *they had collected and gathered together great ſums of Money to Levy an Army therewith when time ſhould ſerve: and had both bought up ſtore of great Horſes about the Country*

Proceedings p. 170.

Proceedings p. 123, 124.

try, and conveyed Powder and Shot, and Artillery ſecretly to their Friends, wiſhing them not to ſtir, but to keep themſelves quiet, until they heard from them. And it ſeems that they had met with good ſucceſs in it, for *there was in* June 1605 *a Conference and Conſultation betwixt* Garnet, Cateſby, *and* Treſham *concerning the ſtrength of the Catholicks in* England, *to the end that* Garnet *might by Letters ſend direct Advertiſement thereof to the Pope, for that his Holineſs would not be brought to ſhew his inclination concerning any ſuch Commotion, until ſuch time as he ſhould be certainly informed, that they had ſufficient and able Force to prevail.* By which they muſt ſuppoſe not only that the Catholick Party was ſtrong in it ſelf, but alſo that that ſtrength ſhould be in readineſs upon this occaſion, or elſe their meſſage to the Pope had been to little or no purpoſe. This Sir *Everard Digby* in his Papers often glances at. For he ſaith, *I ſhall not need to clear any living body either private or publick, for, I never named any body, but reported that thoſe that are dead did promiſe, that all Forces in thoſe Parts round about Mr.* Talbot *would aſſiſt us, but this can hurt nothing, for they openly ſpoke it.* So again, *we all thought if we could procure Mr.* Talbot *to riſe, that —— and we had in our Company his Son in Law, who gave us ſome hope of, and did not much doubt it.* (This I conceive to be Mr. *Talbot* of *Peper Hill*, from what I find of him in a Manuſcript in my poſſeſſion.) Let us hear Sir *Everard* further as to this matter, *The greateſt of our buſineſs* (ſaith he) *ſtood in the poſſeſſing the Lady* Elizabeth, *who lying within eight miles of* Dunchurch, *we would have eaſily ſurprized*, &c. *If ſhe had been in* Rutland, *then* Stoaks *was near, and in either place we had taken ſufficient order to have been poſſeſſed of her.* In either place, we ſee was *ſufficient order*, but that could not have been without a Party in *Rutland*, that we read nothing of. Nay, we find Sir. *Everard*

Proceedings p. 169.

Digby's Paper. 1. Paper. 9.

Paper. 9.

Everard after his Impriſonment to be not without hopes of good Seconds, and of making his terms by the fear which the Court might be in of them. For thus he ſaith,

Pap. 4. *I have ſome gueſs that it worketh, but the Lieutenant maketh all ſhew to me of the contrary; for, ſaith he, the Catholicks are ſo few in number, that they are not to be feared on any terms, for on his knowledg there were not above 4000 in all* England. *Beſides, he ſaid they were eaſily pacified; I would not at all argue the matter with him, but if the number ſhould be objected to me,* &c. Whereby we may perceive what his opinion was in the caſe, who could not but underſtand in ſome meaſure what the condition and ſtrength of his Party was, and what expectation they might reaſonably have from it. The Catholicks were in his Judgment many, and to *be feared*, and he did apprehend they would not be wanting to their Cauſe or them in that juncture. Which agrees with

Proceedings p. 27. what we find obſerv'd by the Secretary, that *by diverſe Advertiſements from beyond the Seas, he underſtood that the Papiſts were making preparations for ſome Combination amongſt them againſt this Parliament time, for enabling them to deliver at that time to the King, ſome Petition for Toleration of Religion: which ſhould be delivered in ſome ſuch order, and ſo well back'd, as the King ſhould be loth to refuſe their requeſts.* It's likely that it was given out amongſt, and by themſelves that there was ſuch a Petition preparing, and if they could but poſſeſs their own Party by that means, ſo as to be in expectation of it, it might ſerve to ſatisfie them about any report of an Inſurrection; and keep them from enquiring into that which they endeavoured to keep within the breaſts of a few. And this will ſerve to give light to what I have before ſaid at the beginning of this Section, *viz.* That more were concerned in this Conſpiracy than were at that time publickly known, that is, more than we read of did know

know of the very manner of a Plot, for the deſtruction of the King, &c. (as thoſe that were to ſurprize the next Heir;) and many more of a Plot to bring in and ſet up their Religion by force of Arms. To this purpoſe it was that care was taken at the firſt for aſſiſtance from abroad; and that a *continual Negotiation was maintained with* Spain *by the Jeſuits*, as *Watſon* and *Clark* did depoſe; which they ſaid *they were ſure tended to nothing, but a preparation for a Forraign Commotion.* It's true that King *James* ſpeaks favourably in this caſe of Forraign Princes, and their Miniſters; but if we may believe *Osborn*, he ſaith, *that the King of* Spain *had an Army then in* Flanders *to land, in the huge miſt ſo black a Cloud muſt needs have cauſed over the Nation*; and that when *the people heard that his Catholick Majeſty ſent an Agent on purpoſe to Congratulate King* James's *preſervation, he could not tell it the Cardinal* d'Oſſat *without laughing in his face at ſo palpable a piece of flattery*, as he conceived it to be.

Proceedings P. 123.

Speech in Parliament. Proceedings p.11. *Osborn* King *James* S.14. from *D'oſſat's* Letter. v. proceed. p. 167. & Abb. Antilog.p.173.b

To this purpoſe was it that *Prayers were appointed to be uſed by thoſe that were Romiſhly affected throughout the whole Nation*, as not only *Osburn* relates, but alſo as it hath been this laſt year confirmed from *Sancta Clara's*, &c. own mouth by Mr. *S.* in his Depoſitions before the Council; and is yet to be ſeen in a Book of theirs wrote in the beginning of King *James's* Reign, where are many paſſages relating hereunto; in a conſolatory Pſalm (as it's there called) its ſaid, *Confirm your hearts in hope, for your Redemption draweth nigh. The year of Viſitation draweth to an end, and Jubilation is at hand.* England *ſhall be called a happy Realm, a bleſſed Country, a Religious People. Thoſe which knew the former glory of Religion, ſhall lift up their hands for joy to ſee it—returned again. Righteouſneſs ſhall proſper, and Infidelity ſhall be plucked up by the roots!* Again, *falſe*

ibid. S.10.

Seven ſparks of the enkindled Soul, &c. p.25.26.

P.29,30.

Pag. 28.

Error

Error ſhall vaniſh like ſmoke: and they which ſaw it ſhall ſay, where is it become? The Daughters of Babylon *ſhall be caſt down, and in the duſt lament their ruin. Proud Hereſie ſhall*
P. 31. *ſtrike her Sail; and groan as a Beaſt cruſhed under a Cart Wheel. —— The memory of Novelties ſhall periſh with a crack, as a ruinous Houſe falling to the ground. Repent ye Seducers*
P. 32. *with ſpeed, and prevent the dreadfull Wrath of the moſt Powerable. —He will come as a flame that burneth out beyond*
P. 33. *the Furnace, his fury ſhall fly forth as Thunder, and pitch upon their tops which maligne him.* So in the fifth Pſalm of his compoſure—*They* [Enemies] *ſhall periſh in thy Fury: and melt like wax before the fire.* I have repeated the more from this Book, becauſe it was made about that ſeaſon, and alſo becauſe it's very hard to be got. From which we may obſerve (1.) That the *Jubilee* they expected was very near. (2.) That this was to be by the deſtruction of their Enemies. (3.) That it ſhould be ſuch a deſtruction as would render the Enemies uncapable of reſiſtance or recovery. (4.) The manner is as much pointed out as a thing of that nature (that was a Secret, and charily to be kept as ſuch) could be; Hereſie ſhall *vaniſh like ſmoak*; *the memory of Novelties ſhall periſh with a crack*; *he will come as a flame that burneth out beyond a Furnace*, &c. As the time drew on, ſo they were more ſecure of ſucceſs, and more confident and open in their expectations of it. Thus it was abroad; *for* Henry Flood *a Jeſuit cauſed the Jeſuits at* Liſbon *to ſpend a great deal of Money on Powder, upon a Feſtival day, a little before the Gunpowder-Treaſon in* England, *to make experiment of the force of it; and perſwaded one* John How (*a Merchant whom he had perverted*) *and diverſe other Catholicks to go over into* England, *and to expect their Redemption there* (*as he called it*) *a while*; as we have the relation of it. Thus it was alſo at home, for a few days before the

Robinſon's Anatomy of the Engliſh Nunnery at *Liſbon.*

appointed

appointed time, *Garnet* meets the other Traitors at *Coughton* in *Warwick-ſhire*, which was the place of Rendezvouz, whither they reſorted out of all Countreys. And upon the firſt of *November* *Garnet* openly prayeth for the good ſucceſs of the great Action concerning the Catholick Cauſe in the beginning of the Parliament; adding theſe Verſes of an Hymn in the end of his Prayer,— Proceedings p. 170.

Gentem auferte perfidam
Credentium de finibus,
Ut Chriſto laudes debitas
Perſolvamus alacriter.

This *Garnet* never denied, but pleaded that *he went thither with a purpoſe to diſſuade Mr.* Cateſby, *when he ſhould have come down — An Anſwer moſt abſurd* (as the Earl of *Salisbury* replied to him) *ſeeing he knew* Cateſby *would not come down till the 6th of* November, *which was the day after the Blow ſhould have been given; and* Garnet *went into the Country ten days before.* If this had been his Errand, it would rather have kept him in *London*, where *Cateſby* was, than carried him from it. Proceedings p. 216, 217.

As to the Prayer he uſed, he had prepared this Anſwer (as he told *Hall* in their ſecret Conference together) *It is true* (ſaith he) *that I prayed for the good Succeſs of that great Action; but I will tell them, that I meant it in reſpect of ſome ſharper Laws, which I feared they would then make againſt the Catholicks: And that anſwer ſhall ſerve well enough.* In which (1.) he plainly grants that he had another end in reciting that verſe, than he would own to them that ſhould examine him upon it. (2.) It appears that the end which he did it for, was what he was very much afraid to have diſcovered. As is evident from his own Letters, in one of which Proceedings p. 189.

which he ſaith, *I know not how I ſhall ſatisfie them about my Journey to* Coughton; and in another, *there is a rumour of a Sermon preached by me at* Hall; *I am afraid it's that which I made at* Coughton. And he further ſaid to *Hall*, *If I can clear my ſelf of this (which I hope to do) I care not what otherwiſe they have to object againſt me*, &c. And can we then think that it was *by chance that he recited thoſe Verſes (being uſed in the* Octaves *of All-Saints day)* as his Apologiſt ſaith; or that the Prayers then uſed were *only for Toleration*, as the Engliſh Apologiſt would have it. If this had been true, what need he be ſo careful about it, what need he take ſuch care for an anſwer to it? If it had been by chance, the thing would have ſpoke for it ſelf. Or if it had been for Favour and Toleration, it was not what they needed to be afraid to own: for how could it be more dangerous to pray to God for ſucceſs in it than it would have been to frame a Petition and preſent it to their Prince for it? It ſounds ſomewhat better, which one of the above ſaid Authors doth frame upon further conſideration; that *when* Garnet *deſpair'd of hindring the Conſpirators, the good man having tried all humane wayes in vain, adds the publick prayers to his own*, ut Deus, vel peſtem eam averteret, vel ſi ita expedire videret, felicem certè funeſto facinori exitum daret; *That God would either divert it, or grant an happy concluſion to this Villanous Enterprize; and that what ever happens it might turn to the good of the Church*, as he again expounds himſelf. By which we ſee how much they are put to it that would give a colour to an ill action; how they ſay and unſay, (as this Author doth) one while its by chance, another while by choice; and how they contradict one another. Unhappy Man! that could not light upon theſe anſwers that are ſince made for him; and very fortunate are they that can frame

Abbot to Antilogia, p. 144 b. 145 b.

Apolog. pro Garneto. p. 201. *Cath. Apol.* p. 436.

Apolog. pro Garneto, p. 265, & 320.

Ibi pp 320.

Apologies

Apologies for Actions which thoſe that were intimately concerned in them never thought upon. But as long as this Prayer was then uſed, and no better account can be given of it by him or thoſe that ſpeak for him; we have all the reaſon in the world to believe it to have a reſpect to the Action that he, and the reſt, were condemned for; and that this was a part of thoſe *Forms of Prayer, that were ſent down and uſed for the ſucceſs of that great Errand*, as King *James* ſaith. It is granted then that there was an intimation given out of ſome great Deſign on foot againſt the Seſſion of Parliament; but whether it did reſpect a Petition againſt *ſome ſharper Laws at that time feared to be made againſt Catholicks* (as Garnet ſaid) or whether a *Toleration* (as another) or whether the Powder-Treaſon and an Inſurrection upon it, I hope what hath been already ſaid will help in good meaſure to reſolve; although we cannot ſo particularly point to Time and Place, Perſons, and Counſels herein concerned, & what are indeed impoſſible, in our Circumſtances, fully to diſcover. The Author of the Catholick Apology ſaith, that *Winter, in his printed Confeſſion deſcends to all particulars*; which, if true, would have afforded an excellent light to us. But that is far otherwiſe, for that Confeſſion was taken the 23 of *November* 1605, not long after his apprehenſion; and it was immediately publiſhed to give ſome ſatisfaction to the World; but being imperfect, he was afterwards taken into further Examination, and many other things were confeſſed by him upon it. In his printed Confeſſion, we have an account of the Beginning and Progreſs of the Gunpowder-Treaſon, (ſtrictly ſo called), there we have an account of what was debated and projected by them in the Vault, and what Proviſions they were further to make for the accompliſhing the Deſign: but all the while there is not

Premonition to Monarchs in K. *James*'s Works. p. 291.

Cath. Apol. p. 528.

Proceed. p. 46.

Abbati Antilogia p. 113. a p. 162. b

a word of what was done in order to it. All this could not be done without Men, and Arms, Horſes and Mony; but we read nothing then of the Levies that were made, of the Horſes that were in readineſs, nor of the Treaſure that was provided (except what was ſubſcribed by *Treſham* and *Digby*) and yet we are as ſure that ſuch a Deſign was not to be carried on without theſe, as we are that there was ſuch a Deſign. Therefore it will be fit to enquire from whence it is that we have no fuller account as to theſe matters. And we ſhall be helped in this, if we conſider,

(1.) That in the beginning of ſuch a Deſign as this was, there was no need of many Aſſiſtants, (as I have before ſhewed) and ſo they took into it no more then they had preſent occaſion for, either in working in the Mine, &c. or bearing the Charge. Whatever Accomplices they had abroad, had nothing elſe to do, but to lye quiet, and wait till the hour did approach and the Signal was given. So *Watſon* the Prieſt confeſſed, that *they had brought up ſtore of great Horſes, and conveyed Powder*, &c. *ſecretly to their Friends, wiſhing them not to ſtir, but keep themſelves quiet until they heard from them.* From hence it was that either none were diſcovered but the head Contrivers of it; or thoſe, that upon preſumption of the ſucceſs above, got too early into arms, as *Grant &c.* or ſuch as being ſure, if any, to be diſcovered got into a body, and endeavoured for that reaſon to provoke others to joyn with them, as *Gatesby*, &c. but the reſt that were to lie ſtill, and to *keep themſelves quiet* till the Blow was given, thought it beſt in prudence, when it had miſcarried, to continue ſo.

Proceed. p. 124.

(2.) The encreaſing of Aſſiſtants, and the communicating of their Counſels to many at the firſt, was ſo far from being needful, that it would have been dangerous. It would

would have endangered the whole, for by that means the Design might have got Air, and been defeated. It would have endangered their Friends (if it had been discovered) and needlessly exposed them. This was the reason that *Owen* gave, why Sir *William Stanley would not be acquainted with any Plot* (though a hearty Well-wisher to it) *as having business a-foot in the Court of* England, (for fear, *i. e.* if the Plot should be discovered, and he discoverd to be privy to it, he should then lose his Interest there) and not that *he would not trust him with such a secret*, as the Author of the *Cath. Apol.* would have it. Proceed. p. 56. Cath. Apol. p. 528.

(3.) When they did communicate their Design to any, and take them into their Counsel and Assistance, it was with all the Caution imaginable. For they took an Oath of Secrecy, and the Sacrament upon it; the sum of the Oath was; Proceed. p. 41. p. 51.

You shall swear by the blessed Trinity, and by the Sacrament you now purpose to receive, never to disclose, directly or indirectly, by word or circumstance, the matter that shall be proposed to you to keep secret; nor desist from the Execution thereof, until the rest shall give you leave. Proceed. p. 166.

The like care was taken with respect to *Owen*, *Bates*, and *Digby*. And *Garnet* himself confesseth, *that by word and writing, he had often protested that he would never betray them.* So that it seems they had obliged even Him after some solemn manner to Secrecy. Ibid. p. 56. 104. & 241. Tort. Torti. p. 286.

(4.) Their Caution was further remarkable, that, neither the manner of the thing was known to many, nor the Persons frequently to each other. It was enough to prepare their Party by some general Intimations; but the *How*, or the *What*, or the *Where*, was what the principal Cabal

and Conſult kept for the moſt part ſecret to themſelves. So much is acknowledged by Sir *Everard Digby*; *As I did not know it directly, that it was approved by ſuch* (referring to ſome Perſons of great authority either in point of Dignity, Wiſdom, or Conſcience) *ſo did I hold it in myconſcience the beſt, not to know any more if I might.* So again, *This anſwer* [of Garnet's] *with Mr.* Cateſby's *proceedings with him and me, gave me abſolute belief that the matter in general was approved, though every particular was not known.* He that was privy to the main, and a principal Undertaker in one great part of the Deſign, which was to ſeize upon the Princeſs, and head the party that was thereabouts, was ignorant in ſome other things relating to it. And what he did not deſire to know if he might, others its likely might not know, if they deſired it. Thoſe that knew their own work, and were aſſigned to ſome particular Office, might know no more what *They* did, or were to do, who were above, than every little Officer in a Reigment, is acquainted with the Debates and Reſolves of a ſecret Council of War: and they that were ready to obey, and whoſe work it was to obſerve the motions of the Commander in their eye, might think no more of killing the King, or of blowing up the Parliament, than that they ſhould be blown up themſelves. The good of the Catholick Cauſe, and an Inſurrection for promoting it, is what perhaps ſuch might be truſted with the knowledg of; but the Deſtruction of the Royal Family (excepting one whoſe name they were to make uſe of) and ſetting up a Protector, might be as little known to them, as their Commanders are to us. They might have an Intimation of a great Alteration coming on, and of the happy days that were approaching; and half a ſentence might ſerve to break the buſineſs to them (whom they would prepare for it) and a nod to

Paper 1.

Paper 5.

ſupply

ſupply what was farther to be revealed, but that ſhould be left till time and ſucceſs ſhould interpret it. Thus ſpeaks *Henry Morgan*, who being asked by *Hammond* the Jeſuit (unto whom he amongſt the reſt made confeſſion) what led him to joyn with *Winter*, &c. anſwered, *I did not*, ſaith he, *well underſtand it, but they told me that Religion and Life was at ſtake, and ſo it was matter of Conſcience induced me to it.* When therefore the caſe is thus, we can have no better information, or underſtand more from ſuch, then they were permitted to underſtand. Abboti. Antilog. p. 154. b.

For the ſame reaſon was it, that, as it was in the Invaſion 1588, the Conſpirators were not generally known to one another, unleſs thoſe who were of the Cabinet Council. Every one knew his immediate fellow or partner, and perhaps his Commander; but the number and ſtrength, or perſons otherwiſe he could in ſuch a caſe at beſt but ſuſpect; ſo we find that neither *Littleton*, nor *Rookwood* knew *Greenwell*. And that they did practiſe according to this Principle is evident from *Winter's* Confeſſion, where we read that *Catesby deſired Leave, that he with Mr.* Percy, *and a third, whom they ſhould call, might acquaint whom they thought fit and willing to the buſineſs: for many, ſaid he, may be content that I ſhould know, who would not therefore that all the Company ſhould be acquainted with their names.* So Sir Everard Digby, *I knew*, ſaith he, *that* Faux *could reveal me, for I muſt make choice of two beſides Mr.* Cateſby, *which I did of him and Mr.* Winter. He had a part which he would not have every one acquainted with. But above all *Garnet* was moſt cautious herein, who was wont for a good while to converſe only with *Catesby*, and thoſe of his own order about this buſineſs; inſomuch as Sir *Everard Digby* ſaith, in the place before quoted, *I did not know it directly that it was approved by ſuch*; which he principally underſtands Cambden. Eliz. Abbot. Antilog. p. 164. b. *Winter's* Confeſſion, in Proceed. p. 55. Paper 3. *Caſauboni Epiſt. ad Ducem* p. 94. Pap. 1.

Paper 9. Proceeds p. 144.

ſtands of *Garnet*; for he ſaith further, *Before that I knew any thing of this Plot, I did ask Mr.* Farmer [*i. e.* Garnet, for that was one of the ſix names he was called by] *what the meaning of the Pope's Brief was; he told me that they were not* (*meaning Prieſts*) *to undertake or procure any ſtirs*, &c. *and this anſwer, with Mr.* Cateſby's *proceedings with him and me, gave me abſolute belief that the matter in general was approved*, &c. So that he underſtood *Garnet*'s meaning indirectly only by the anſwer given to that queſtion, and by the account which *Catesby* alſo gave him of the Provincial's opinion in the caſe. *Catesby* being his mouth to the Company, and giving them aſſurance that it was *Garnet*'s Judgment as well as his own. This *Garnet* doth acknowledge, in a Letter of his, *what ſhould I do?* ſaith he, *firſt of all the other Conſpirators did accuſe me*; *and again*, Cateſby *always made uſe of my Authority with them, by which means he perſwaded almoſt every body to think well of the matter.* Thus carefully did this ſubtile Man proceed, that he might preſerve his own Honour and Life, and that which ſeemed to be as dear to him as both, the honour of his Order and Society. From all which we ſee, that though the party hung together, yet it was by ſuch ſtrings that few could perceive among themſelves, the clue being in the hands of the Chief of the Conſpiracy: and that conſequently we cannot expect that full and clear Evidence, as we might have had, had ſuch of them as *Catesby* and *Piercy* lived to make diſcovery; or had ſuch of them as lived to be examined and tryed, been inclined to it. But that we find otherwiſe. For,

Tort. Torti. p. 286.

5. When they were diſcovered, and apprehended, they did with great obſtinacy deny every thing that either was not forced from, or could not be directly proved againſt them. Thus Faux *laid all the blame upon himſelf, and would*

Proceed. p. 38.

would confeſs none of his complices, till he was carried to the Tower and ſhewed the Rack. Thus reſolved, we find Sir *Everard Digby*, who ſaith, *were reaſons I had to perſwade me to this belief, than I dare utter, which I will never to the ſuſpicion of any, though I ſhould to the Rack for it.* So again, *I will do as much as my Partner wiſheth, and it will then appear, that I ſhall not hurt or accuſe one man: and however I might in general poſſeſs them with fear, in hope to do the Cauſe good; yet my care was ever to loſe my own Life, rather than hurt the unworthieſt Member of the Catholick Church. Tell her I have ever loved her and her Houſe*, &c. *and I will not live to manifeſt the contrary.* Where we find that they were much afraid of him, who was able to do them a great deal of miſchief from the knowledge that he had of the Party and the Deſign; and who perhaps they thought might be induced to it from the deſire of life, being but about 24 years old, and one of a plentiful eſtate; but he ſhews himſelf to be true to his Principles and Engagements. Of the like temper and reſolution do we find Mr. *Habington*, for ſaith he, *My Lord Chief Juſtice fell in the end to two points. The one, If Mr.* Teſmond *ever moved me to joyn with Sir* Everard Digby, *Mr.* Cateſby, *Mr.* Winter *and others in Rebellion againſt the King, but that they could not prove; the other If I knew of Mr.* Garnet's *being in my houſe. I too confident they would not confeſs any thing againſt me, denied them both.* He doth not deny but that the whole was true; only the one wanted proof, and he did believe the other would never be confeſſed. And he had good reaſon for it; for he tells us, that it was mutually reſolved by *Garnet*, *Hall* and himſelf, that if thoſe two were at any time taken in his Houſe, *we ſhould*, ſaith he, *abſolutely renounce all knowledg and acquaintance one with another.* Of this we have alſo another inſtance in one *Owen*, who

Paper 1.

Paper 9.

Preface to his papers.

Mſſ. H.

was

Thuanus was *Garnet's* man, that rather then be tortured (which he was in fear of) and any thing ſhould be wreſted from him to the damage of his Party, ript up his own Belly, and ſo died; by the Wound, I ſay, which he gave himſelf, and not by having his Bowels forced out by Torture, as *Garnet's* lying Apologiſt would perſwade the World.

Abboti Antil. p. 114.

Apol. pro *Garneto.*

But amongſt all their Accomplices they were moſt of all bent to conceal their Prieſts, and by no means to own any of them to be in the Confederacy. There was nothing Sir *Everard Digby* ſeem'd to be more concern'd to clear himſelf of the ſuſpicion of offending in; *As yet*, ſaith he, *they have not got of me the affirming that I know any Prieſt particularly, nor ſhall ever do to the hurt of any, but my ſelf. And I have before all the Lords cleared all the Prieſts in it for any thing I know.* And this he was ſo reſolved in, that he would *not utter any thing to the ſuſpicion of any ſuch, though*, ſaith he, *I ſhould to the Rack for it.* And to teſtifie his affection further that way, he was reſolved to clear them at the Bar, for thus ſaith he; *Sure I am that I never did yet confeſs to know him* [one that he calls Brother, who is a Prieſt, and, by his being ſaid to *give the Sacrament to five at one time*, I conceive is meant *Gerard*, who did adminiſter it to *Catesby* and four others of the Conſpirators at the beginning of the Plot] *nor any of the three. I do it not in regard of my ſelf, as it ſhall appear at the Bar: for whatſoever I could do for him or any of his* [i. e. his Order] *I would do it though it coſt me never ſo much ſufferance: but I have been ſparing in that, becauſe I may do more in publick, which will I think be beſt; as you wiſh, I will do*, &c. This alſo he did, *ſeeking by Proteſtations to clear all Jeſuites of thoſe practices which they themſelves confeſſed, ex ore proprio*; as the Earl of *Salisbury* ſaid. In order to which they thought it allowable, nay, praiſe-worthy, to lye, and perjure themſelves.

Paper 1.

Ibid. & pap. 7.

Proceed. p. 166.

Morus in Hiſt. ſaith *Gerard* p. 314. was very familiar with *Digby.*

Paper 5.

Proceedings p. 220.

As

As to the former we have too many inſtances in Sir *Everard's* Papers, for he denies that ever he took the Sacrament to keep ſecret the Plot; *becauſe*, ſaith he, *I would avoid the queſtion; at whoſe hands it were.* He denied that *Father Wally* [*i. e. Garnet*, for that is another of his names] *was at* Coughton *with him*; though *Garnet* confeſſed it afterwards himſelf. He affirmed that he did not *know Darcy* [who was alſo ſo called] to be the ſame with *Garnet*, *and that he did not take him to be a Prieſt*; though he was very well acquainted with him. And if we will put their Principles to it, we may ſee how far they will go in *Treſham*; who when he had before let fall ſome words tending to make *Garnet* guilty of the Spaniſh Treaſon; rather than he would be guilty (as he and his Wife thought) of ſo great impiety, as to bring a Prieſt into danger by a true accuſation, choſe to perjure himſelf, and as he was a dying man (for within three hours after he died) and hoped for Salvation, did acquit him of it, ſaying, *that he had not ſeen the Provincial in ſixteen years before*; whereas by *Garnet's* own confeſſion they had had frequent Converſation with each other for the three years laſt paſt. But if theſe Gentlemen (who uſually ſtand upon the honour of their word) *would go about to excuſe all Jeſuits how foul ſoever, out of an opinion that it is meritorious ſo to do, at ſuch time as they had no hope of themſelves*, as the Earl of *Salisbury* obſerved: Then what may not be expected from the Jeſuits themſelves, who had ſo powerfully inſtilled theſe Principles into perſons otherwiſe generous, and when their own life and honour, and the honour of their Religion and Society came deeply to be concerned. We may then expect obſtinacy and ſubtilty ſhould meet together, and all that Art and Nature can do ſhall be made uſe of to clear them of the ſcandal and danger that would otherwiſe

Paper

Paper 3.

Paper 7.

Proceed. p. 220. 1.

wise befall them. And we shall not fail of an example herein, if we do but peruse the Examinations, and Trial, the Answers, and Confessions of *Garnet*, who at this time was the Provincial of that Order in *England*. We shall find his great care was not so much to speak Truth, as to serve his Cause, and excuse himself; and if he could but dress up a Story, and make what he calls *Formalis Fabula* (in one of his Letters that was intercepted), he would not want Confidence, and the most powerful Asseverations to confirm it. I shall not trouble the Reader with the petty ways he had of saying and unsaying as might serve his turn; *As when before the Lords Commissioners he truly and freely confessed his Treasons, being (as himself under his own hand confessed) overwhelmed, Tanta mole Testium, yet, ad faciendum populum*, to delude the People and preserve his own Reputation; *in his Letters which he wrote abroad, he cleareth himself of the Powder-Treason*, as Sir *Edward Coke* relates. These are Tricks not to be taken notice of in comparison of the boldness which he at other times did take to excuse and clear himself. Is he charged with having writ Letters to *Greenwell*, and when he had denied it, required to give his answer *upon the word of a Priest*? he again denies it obstinately; and yet the Commissioners had then the Letters in possession; upon which, he contented himself to say, that *he denied it, because he thought they had them not*. Is he demanded whether *Hall* and He had conference together, and desired not to equivocate? how *stifly did he deny it upon his Soul, reiterating it with so many detestable Execrations, as the Earl of* Salisbury *said, it wounded their Hearts to hear him*; and yet when it was proved to his face, confessed the thing; as not only the *Proceedings*, but his own Letters do declare; coming off with this *Salvo*, *That when any one is charged before a Magistrate*,

Abboti Antil. p. 137. a 146. b.

Proceed. p. 174.

Abboti. Antil. p. 136. b.

Proceed. p. 195.

Abboti. Antil. p. 146. a.

ſtrate, he is not bound to anſwer before Witneſſes are produced; quia nemo tenetur prodere ſeipſum, becauſe no one is bound to betray himſelf. This is a new way of arguing, but it's not the only ſingular thing befel him in that kind; For whereas all Mankind do practiſe Sincerity at their death; yet even then he could not forget to prevaricate; for he ſaid upon the ſcaffold immediately before his Execution, that *he only had a general knowledg of the Fact by Mr.* Cateſby, &c. *and what he knew in particulars was in Confeſſion:* when yet the *King had under his own Hand-writing to the contrary* (as the Recorder wiſhed him to remember) as ſhall be ſhewed in the next Section. So that upon the whole he abundantly made good what the Earl of *Northampton* ſaid to him at his tryal, *I confeſs that never any man in your ſtate gave leſs hold or advantage to Examiners, than you have done in the whole courſe of Proceeding, to us that were in Commiſſion: ſometime by forſwearing, as upon the Confeſſion of* Hall *your fellow: ſometime by diſſembling, as about the places of your Rendezvous, which was the Lapwings Neſt: ſometime by artificial Equivocation: ſometime by ſophiſticating true Subſtances: ſometime by adding falſe qualities: yet* ſat ſupereſt, *as may appear, to the defeat of your Inventions, and the defence of the Kings Majeſty*; quia magna eſt veritas, & prævalet.

Caſaub. Epiſt. ad Ducæum, p. 117, 118.

Proceedings p. 225,

Proceedings P. 201.

Now if we lay all theſe things together, and conſider, how few the deſign, (as far as it went), needed to have actually concerned in it, how cautious they were in chooſing perſons for their turn, and in obliging them to ſecrecy when they were choſen; how cunning they were to ſhew the Plot by parts, and in diſpoſing of Perſons; ſo that few amongſt them did know, and ſo ſhould not betray each other, (if through fickleneſs or fear they might be ſo diſpoſed); how firm and reſolute they were upon

diſcovery and apprehenſion; it is ſo far from being an objection againſt the Hiſtory of this Plot, which makes it popiſh, that ſo few were diſcovered; that it's matter of wonder there is ſo much reaſon as there is to prove it to be ſo. Now it may be worth our while a little to conſider how they came by ſo much evidence as they had in the Caſe.

As,

(1.) Some things were evident of themſelves, and not to be denied, they being taken in the fact; as it was with *Faux*, and thoſe of them that were openly in Arms.

(2.) Other things were confeſſed, for fear of the Rack, or the little taſt they had of it; as it was with *Faux* in his firſt Confeſſion.

(3.) So much Intelligence being obtained; the Commiſſioners ſhewed this to the others, and ſo drew them on to confeſs more. This is one of the reaſons *Garnet* gives to excuſe himſelf for confeſſing ſo much as he did, in one of his Letters that was intercepted. This is the account he alſo gave of himſelf as to that matter at his death. Being upon the Gibbet he ſaid—— *to whom* [the Lords of the Privy-Council] *I remember my humble duty, and I am ſorry that—I did diſſemble with them; but I did not think that they had ſuch proof againſt me, till it was ſhewed me: but when that was proved, I held it more honour for me at that time to confeſs, than before, to have accuſed.*

Proceedings p. 227.

(4.) Sometimes it was by ſeveral Examinations, at ſome diſtance of time; this put *Garnet* to it; as he acknowledgeth in his Letter to Mrs *Ann*; *Let any one think*, ſaith he, *after 23 ſeveral Examinations by the wiſeſt men of the Nation, beſides particular Diſcourſes with the Lieutenant of the Tower, what could be done.* Its nothing but truth can in ſuch a caſe make a Man conſtant to himſelf, and he therefore that had

Ibid.

had nothing but, what he calls *formalis fabula*, a forged ſtory to ſave himſelf, muſt needs be often at a loſs. As it happened to him; for ſometime he would ſay *Greenwel* told him the buſineſs in Confeſſion, ſometimes it was by way of Couſultation: one while upon the word of a Prieſt he burnt the Popes Breves as ſoon as King *James* was Proclaimed; another time he burnt them at *Coughton*. *Tortura Torti.p.285. Abboti Antil. p.137.*

(5.) Sometimes they did diſcover themſelves through want of underſtanding one another. As it was with *Garnet*, who knowing *Catesby* was dead, and thinking *Greenwell* had made his eſcape, concluded he might then ſafely ſay any thing, and ſo would own no other knowledg of the Plot but what he had in confeſſion: but afterwards underſtanding (through Miſinformation) that he was taken, leaſt *Greenwell* ſhould confeſs and prevent him in it, he then acknowledged that he had it out of Confeſſion. *Tortura Torti. p.285.*

(6.) Sometimes a Confeſſion was extorted by confronting of Evidence. So when *Garnet* declared that he had no deſign of writing in behalf of *Baynham*, but to prefer him to a Command; being oppoſed herein by the Teſtimony of *Faux*, who ſaid that he was ſent to *Rome* on purpoſe to implore the Pope's aid for their Aſſiſtance upon the ſucceſs of their Deſign; he did then confeſs it. So it was betwixt *Hall* and him; as it follows. *Abboti Anti p.141.a*

(7.) Sometimes a diſcovery was made by the intercepting of their Letters or diſcourſe; and both theſe befel *Garnet*. For undertaking to write a Letter to one *Rookwood* a Prieſt, at that time in the Gate-houſe; and another to Mrs. *Ann Vaux*; and a third to the Fathers and Brethren, &c. they were all taken, and much diſcovered by them. Again, having a mind to diſcourſe with *Hall* the Jeſuit, then alſo a Priſoner in the *Tower*; and prevailed with the Keeper Proceedings p.173,200. *Theſe are quoted often in* Abboti Antilog. *and* Tortura Torti, *&c.*

Proceed. p. 189. & 199. Keeper to find out a way for it. The Keeper did ſo, but withal diſcovered it; and two Gentlemen of unqueſtionable Reputation being placed ſecretly within the hearing of it, gained conſiderable particulars againſt him, which he was forced by that means to confeſs. By theſe and the like means was their obſtinacy and ſubtilty conquer'd, and the Intelligence drawn from them which we have as to this matter. But where theſe reaſons were not, we are little beholden to them. For what is ſaid of *Garnet* in a more eſpecial manner; that *there was no Truth gained from him, which he did not find himſelf conſtrained to confeſs by Witneſſes and Teſtimonies of undoubted Credit*; is alſo in proportion true of all the reſt, foraſmuch as I can perceive by the moſt diligent Enquiry.

Caſa-uboni Epiſt ad Ducæum p. 116.

Abboti Antil. p. 136. b.

The Author of the *Cath. Apol.* ſaith, *that there were no more Conſpirators, becauſe no Gentleman was diſcovered,* [beſides thoſe that were killed, and taken, and *Owen*] *which could not happen out of deſign to ſave their Friends.* This he offers two reaſons for: (1.) *Becauſe ſeveral particulars (which might have been eaſily kept ſecret) were revealed, as may be found in their printed Confeſſions.* (2.) *The Malefactors did accuſe their Confeſſors, and therefore certainly they would never have ſpared others, had there been any guilty.*

Cath. Apol. p. 401.

Rom. Chur. vindicated p. 65.

This cannot be ſuppoſed, ſaith another, *that they had not Tenderneſs enough to leave any other undiſcovered; whoſe Conſcience compelled them, to expoſe their own Confeſſors to their deſerved Penalty.* To which the laſt Author adds, (3.) *That not one Nobleman, or any other of the Catholick Gentry did know or approve of that wicked conſpiracy; becauſe the Catholick Lords* [all of them, ſaith the Cath. Apol.] *were to have undergone the ſame barbarous Fate with the reſt.*

Cath. Apol. p. 406.

But I cannot conceive the force of the firſt Argument; for what if there were *ſeveral particulars revealed by them, which*

which might eaſily have been kept ſecret? Might not that be ſo, and yet there be nothing of Sincerity and Conſcience in the caſe? Might it not be done for the connexion of one thing to another? (which often times makes Circumſtances to be neceſſary, as it is there.) Might it not be done to impoſe upon the Examiners, and to let them think that when they are ſo exact in the leſs, they will not let ſlip the greater? And have we not juſt cauſe to think this to be the reaſon, rather than what the Apologiſt doth offer for it? If indeed theſe printed Confeſſions had been ſo exact (as he will needs ſuppoſe) then there had been ſome colour for what he ſays; but when the contrary is manifeſt, his Argument falls of it ſelf. And that this is ſo, appears from what I have before obſerved, for *Faux* and *Winter* upon ſecond Examination confeſſed more; and what they did afterward confeſs was ſo material, as could not be forgotten by them before, had they not been willing to have concealed it, if they well could. But again, where is the conſequence (ſetting aſide the conſcience in it) that becauſe they did ſometimes let fall ſome things of little importance, therefore they muſt needs alſo reveal things of an higher nature; therefore they muſt betray thoſe Friends, who had not by any overt Acts diſcovered themſelves? So that before this Argument muſt be granted, we muſt grant that *Faux* and *Winter* were privy to the whole Plot; and that part in which they were not perſonally concerned, as well as what they were. We muſt grant, that they made conſcience of not concealing any part or particular of it, (as far as they knew); and we muſt further grant that all theſe particulars are contained in their printed Confeſſions. Or elſe we may ſafely conclude, that notwithſtanding there are *ſeveral Particulars revealed in their printed Confeſſions (which might have been eaſily kept ſecret)* they

they might *have a deſign to ſave their Friends*; and there might be more Perſons in the Plot than are recorded in their Confeſſions; and (which is pity) a pretty Argument is thereby loſt; and which is worſe than that, it might be a *Popiſh and general Plot* notwithſtanding.

But however, will they ſay, if they were ſincere in thoſe Confeſſions, then a part of it ſtill remains good; and what greater Argument can there be for that they were ſincere, than that *they did accuſe their own Confeſſors* (which is a thing, that nothing but the power of truth can force them to) and if they did not ſpare them, they would certainly not ſpare others. In anſwer to which I ſhall conſider,

1. Whether they did thus accuſe their Confeſſors?

2. Whether if they did, *their Conſcience* (as is pleaded) *compelled them to it?*

As to the firſt,

1. It is notorious, that there were ſeveral of them did not at all accuſe their Confeſſors; this is certain as to Sir *Everard Digby*, that he (againſt his own knowledg) did all he could upon his Trial to vindicate them: And if we peruſe the printed Confeſſions, we ſhall not find a word to that purpoſe. If *Faux* and *Winter* did afterwards accuſe any, it was what they were, if not very backward and cold, yet very imperfect in. For the Earl of *Salisbury* tells Garnet; *Let it not be forgotten that this interlocution of yours with* Hall, *overheard by others, appears to be* digitus Dei: *for thereby had the Lords ſome light and proof of matter againſt you, which might have been diſcovered otherwiſe by violence and coercion.* Implying, as *Morus* obſerves, that they *had not matter before ſufficient to charge him with.* The great thing charged upon him ſeems to be, that ſome of the others confeſſed, that *his name was uſed to them by* Cateſby *to juſtifie the lawfulneſs of the Act*, as *Garnet* in one of

Proceedings p. 194.

Mori Hiſt. p. 315.

Antilog. p. 146. b.

of his Letters doth say; but what he there adds, that *All did so confess*, is manifestly false. Since, besides what is aboveſaid of Sir *Everard*, *Morus* doth declare, that *nothing was confessed against the Jesuits, but what* Bates *said of Greenwel* [or *Greenway*] viz. that he was in the company of the Conſpirators; and which Sir *Everard* ſaid, he heard he ſhould confeſs of *Wally* (or *Garnet.*) So that when theſe late Apologiſts ſay *the Traitors did all accuſe and expoſe their Confeſſors*, its more than was true, and more than the Jeſuits will thank them for. For all of them that hitherto pleaded the cauſe of the Jeſuits do ſay the contrary; *More* ſhall ſpeak for the reſt; who ſaith, *for ought I can perceive, the accuſation of the Jeſuits hath no other foundation than the Confeſſion of* Bates, *who is ſaid to have accuſed* Greenway, *&c.* and he would perſwade us alſo, that *Perſons of good credit reported that while in Priſon he confeſſed that he had accuſed him falſly.* How true this is I ſhall afterward conſider; but I produce this to ſhew what contrary things theſe men will ſay if it may ſerve their Cauſe; when in the laſt age it was pleaded none did accuſe the Jeſuits, and when in ours they would have it that they were accuſed by all.

Mori Hiſt. p. 314.

Digby's Paper. 3.

Mori Hiſt. p. 313.

Ibid. p. 314.

But (2.) Suppoſing they did accuſe their Confeſſors, yet it was not becauſe their *Conſcience did compel them* to it; This *More* will have them ſo far from, that he ſaith, *Bates did accuſe them in hope of life, and afterward recanted.* But whether *Bates* did ſo or no; yet in point of reaſon it is evident that it was not from any ſuch motive: for then they that thus accuſed them would have repented of the Fact it ſelf, and look'd upon it as an Evil, & fit to be repented of. For what could move them in point of Conſcience thus to *expoſe them*, if it was not that the Fact was evil, which their Confeſſors together with them had been complicated in? But this we find them far from acknowledg-

ing: For Sir *Everard Digby* (though for a little while after his impriſonment he doubted of the warrantableneſs of it, yet being confirmed in it by the Letters of *Gerard*, whom he calls Brother) was ſo well ſatisfied, that he calls it the *beſt Cauſe*. Of the like mind were *Robert Winter* and *Faux*; for having found an opportunity for Conference in the Tower from the nearneſs of their Lodgings, *Robert Winter* ſaid to *Faux*, that *he and* Catesby *had Sons, and that Boys would be Men, and that he hoped they would revenge the Cauſe: Nay that God would raiſe up Children to* Abraham *out of ſtones.* And they added, that *they were ſorry, that no body did ſet forth a Defence or Apologie of their Action; but yet they would maintain the Cauſe at their deaths.* And ſo it's likely they did, for King *James* ſaith, that *ſome of them continued ſo obſtinate, that even at their death, they would not acknowledg their fault; but in their laſt words, immediately before the expiring of their Breath, refuſed to condemn themſelves, and crave pardon for their deed, except the Romiſh Church ſhould firſt condemn it.*

V. Preface to his papers. & Paper 1.

Pap. 4.

Proceedings p. 125 & 126.

K. *James*'s Premonition, in his Works. p. 291.

Of this we have a particular example in *Grant*, when being admoniſhed juſt before his death by a learned and reverend Perſon to ask pardon of God for his offence; he confidently and readily replied; *That he was ſo well ſatisfied that there was no ſin in the caſe, that on the contrary, he thought that he deſerved ſo well for that generous and brave Attempt, that it would abundantly ſuffice for a ſatisfaction for all the ſins of his whole life.* So little did they generally repent of the Fact, and ſo little reaſon have we to think that what they confeſſed proceeded from compulſion of Conſcience; but rather that it was from ſome other reaſon; as fear of the Rack, or ſurprize, or becauſe others had confeſſed, or that they themſelves had given occaſion from what they had before confeſſed for a fur-

Caſaub. Epiſt. ad Ducæum p. 91.

ther

ther enquiry, *&c.* So it happened with *Faux* and *Th. Winter* who at the first accused none of the Jesuits; but having confessed that they received the Sacrament, that led the way to a further Examination about the Priests, whom they at last confessed also. This Sir *Everard* foresaw, and therefore he took another course, (as is before observed) and denied that he had *received the Sacrament at all upon this occasion.* Now that what I have before said is true, will appear from the behaviour of *Stephen Littleton*, who though he had confessed that he sent to *Hall* (after their defeat) for advice whither to retire; and had, with others, acknowledged that he and the rest had confessed to *Hammond* (a little before) yet he *absolutely refused to answer whether he received Absolution from him for the Fact, or had his Conscience satisfied by him about it*; and added, *that he would rather dye than reveal the secrets of that matter.* And *Robert Winter*, who had at first confessed that *all the Jesuits named, were privy to and engaged with them in the Conspiracy*; yet, as is before observed, *did maintain their Cause, and resolve to defend it at his death.* Truly I find none of them that had any touch of Remorse but *Rookwood* and *Tho. Winter*; and for the latter it is observable that when he said, *I shall set down mine own Accusation, &c. which I shall the faithfuller do, since I see such courses are not pleasing to Almighty God*; Yet was so far from doing so, that he speaks there not one word of *Gerard* (whom upon a further Examination he discovered) or any other Jesuit; so that his Confession at that time seems rather to be owing to his second reason that he there gives, than his first, and that is, *because the most material parts had bin already confessed.*

Abboti Anlog. p. 159. b

Ibid. 152.
Ibid. 155.
Ibid. p. 154. b.

Ibid. p. 154. a.

Proceedings p. 46.
Ibid. 154. b

To conclude this, when the Traitors did accuse their Confessors, either they did this sincerely, and because *compelled by their Conscience*, or not; if not (as I have shewed)

then what doth the Argument ſignify; that *if the tenderneſs of their Conſcience did compel them to expoſe their own Confeſſions, then they would not have ſpared others.* But if they did thus confeſs them ſincerely and out of Conſcience, then their Confeſſors were guilty of what theſe charged them with. And then let them take their choice.

Rom. Ch. vindicated p. 64. 65.

I ſhall now proceed to the conſideration of the laſt Argument, by which they would endeavour to prove that it was not *a Popiſh Plot*, and, that not any beſides the above-ſaid Conſpirators were concerned in this Treaſon, *viz.* that *all the Catholick Lords were to have undergone the ſame barbarous Fate with the reſt.* Suppoſing this was true (as it is not) yet is not the Pope's Intereſt to be promoted and the cauſe of the Jeſuits maintained, though the Nobility of their own way be deſtroyed? Was there not a time when in an intended Invaſion to be carried on by force from abroad, and a ſecret Conſpiracy at home, that it was not the Perſons they regarded, but Intereſt? *It was to make room, place and ſpace for my Maſter*, ſaid the Duke of *Medina*. And might not this be the caſe in 1605, as well as it was in 88? And ſo their Religion be thereby ſettled, and place and ſpace made for the *Maſter* of *Rome*, as well as *Spain*, and Authority and Power gain'd to the *Society*; it is no matter though the *Innocent periſh with the Nocent*, and Friends as well as Foes fall by the ſame Stroak. This was foreſeen in the preſent Conſpiracy, and when it was made a caſe of Conſcience by *Catesby*, it was reſolved in the affirmative by *Garnet*, that *for the good and promoting of the Catholick Cauſe againſt Hereticks (the neceſſity of time and occaſion ſo requiring) it was lawful among many Nocents to deſtroy and take away ſome Innocents alſo.* So that it might be a popiſh Plot, though the *Catholick Lords*, *and all the Catholick Lords* were to periſh with the other.

Watſon's Quodlibets p. 177. Proceed. p. 156. & p. 249.

Proceed. p. 165.

But

But notwithſtanding what theſe Writers do ſay, that *the Catholick Lords, and all the Catholick Lords, were to be thus barbarouſly dealt with*: yet we ſhall find that this is a great miſtake in matter of Fact alſo. The Confeſſion of *Thomas Winter* (if they had read it) would have informed them otherwiſe; for, *whilſt we were in the Vault, we diſcourſed*, ſaith he, *what Lords we ſhould ſave from the Parliament; which was firſt agreed in general; as many as we could that were Catholicks, or ſo diſpoſed: but after we deſcended to particulars.* And Sir Everard Digby doth give a clear account of this matter; *I dare not*, ſaith he, *take that courſe I could, to make it appear leſs odious; for divers were to have been brought out of the danger, which now would rather hurt them than otherwiſe. I do not think there would have been three worth ſaving that ſhould have been loſt.* To this purpoſe one of them that was privy to it took the way of writing to the Lord *Monteagle*. Other Lords, as the hour drew on, might be admoniſhed of it, or called off (as an Author of theirs ſaith they were to be); or perhaps ſuch a kind of Letter might have been thought of alſo, as the Author of the *Catholick Apology* hath drawn up to ſerve upon ſuch an occaſion; and which he thinks *would certainly have kept the Perſon, to whom it was written, at home*. By one, or the other, or the like waies, we ſee that care was taken to ſecure all thoſe that would be true, or whom they could preſume would be aſſiſting to them. And when this was done, if the Author of the *Catholick Apology*, that tells us that *the Catholick Noblemen then were not only conſiderable, but the conſiderableſt of the Nation; the firſt Marquis (there being at that time no Duke but the late King) the firſt Earl, and the firſt Baron being of that Profeſſion*; If after theſe, and the four other Lords he there names, he had filled up the Catalogue of all thoſe that

Proceedings. p. 54.

Paper 9.

Eudem. Apol p. 240.

Cath. Apol. p. 408.

Cath. Apol. p. 400.

that were profeſſedly of his Religion (beſides what were ſo diſpoſed) we might by deducting of *three* (according to Sir *Everard's* calculation) have told him the number and quality of the Noblemen that were to be ſaved; and by doing ſo, have ſhewed him that it was ſo far from being true, that *all the Catholick Lords were to have been deſtroyed*, as he ſaith, that ſcarcely one of them would have undergone that Fate; and ſo it might be *a Popiſh Plot, and an univerſal Popiſh Plot*, without a *contradiction* or a *riddle*, notwithſtanding what that Author hath ſaid thereupon.

As for what he there ſaith, that *a Plot is looked upon as general, when a good number of the chief of a Party are intrigued in the Deſign.* I grant that ſuch a Plot is general (if with them men of other ſtates and degrees generally joyn with them in it) but yet it may be a general Plot of a Party, and the Nobility not be *intrigued* in it; and they may be intrigued, and yet it not be known. For what more common then to ſend a Forlorn-Hope before, that are willing to venture their Lives and Fortunes, and who if they periſh, periſh alone? What more common than for perſons to have ſuch intimations given them of a Plot as are ſufficient to prepare them; and again to give ſuch intimations of their conſent and approbation, as ſhall be ſufficient to aſſure the undertakers of their aſſiſtance; ſuch as ſhall ſecure the one, if it ſhould happen to be diſcovered; and warrant the other to go on with the greater reſolution? What more common than to have a general notice of this, and to be willingly ignorant of the particulars (as hath been already obſerved?) And ſo the Lords might know of a Deſign in general; but that this was to be begun by blowing up the Parliament-Houſe, it was not neceſſary they ſhould know; becauſe they were to be kept out of that danger; nor fit to know

that

that they might not, if it miscarried, be brought into another. What more ordinary than to raise and joyn Contributions, and covertly to convey it, so that it shall serve the Cause without hurting themselves? And though this was not then publickly known, yet afterward their Relations and Descendents found that it must be by some such secret ways that their Estates were broken and impaired; and I am assured that some of them (as Captain *Dingly* told a relation of his, whom he believed for that reason, and others to be concerned in it) did smell of Gunpowder some years after, if not to this day. And if this may be (as often it is) then a *good number of the chief of the Party might be intrigued in the Design*, and little knowledg of it come abroad then, or down to us now.

The Parliament then was to receive a terrible blow, and yet they should not see who hurt them; for there was no appearance of any stir; as the person that wrote the Letter to the Lord *Monteagle* saith. There were indeed store of great Horses bought up, and Powder, *&c.* conveyed secretly to their Friends; but at the same time they were wished not to stir, untill they heard further; as I have shewed from *Watsons* Information. It was somewhat strange, that when the Roman-Catholicks were *prepared for Tumult, and hardly to be restrained by the Jesuits themselves*, as *Garnet* in his Letters complains; and were neither then wanting *in Courage or Force*, as another saith; that yet they should be so profoundly quiet about that time; and that the Broils that were in *Wales* in the *May* before, should be so easily and suddenly hush'd, as not to be observed by the Government. But this shewed the diligence and dexterity of those that were concerned, and we have the reason of it: For *Garnet* wrote to the Pope that a *strict Order might come for the staying all Commotions* of the Catholicks

Proceedings p. 29.

Ibid. p. 124.

Abboti Antil. p. 149. a and 165. b

Eudæm. Apol.

Proceed. p. 168.

Antilog. p. 138. b.

Antilog. p. 138. b

tholicks here in *England*, *intending to ſet their whole reſt of the Romiſh Cauſe on the Powder Plot*, as *Faux* confeſſed, and *lull us aſleep in ſecurity in reſpect of their diſſembling quietneſs and conformity*, as Sir *Edward Coke* ſaith. The Jeſuits by the management of *Gerard*, had been the means of bringing *Watſon's* Treaſon to light, and him to the Gallows (as *More* doth own) thereby at once revenging themſelves upon him for all the ſtories that he had told of them in Print; and alſo ſecuring to themſelves ſome reſpect and reputation from the Government for their ſeeming fidelity: And to this they added all their endeavours to keep things quiet, and themſelves by that means free from ſuſpicion. But now that all this was but a piece of Art, appears;

Proceed. p. 168.

Mori. Heſt. p. 325,

Antilog. p. 160. b

(1.) Becauſe all the while, even for twenty months ſpace, *Garnet* kept *Catesby's* practices ſecret; which, by his own confeſſion, he did aſſuredly believe to be of very deſtructive conſequence.

Ibid. P. 137. b & 138.

(2.) Becauſe by the Pope's Letters to him it appears, tho care was taken as to *general Commotions*, yet as to particulars it was then ſaid, there needed no prohibition, becauſe what was ſaid about generals would ſuffice. The meaning of which, will appear from what Sir *E. Digby* ſaith, *Paper* 9.

Ibid 139 b

(3.) It appears that the Commotions in *Wales* were rather hush'd than diſheartned, and rather put off than brought to an end. For we find, after the diſcovery of the *Powder Plot*, and the defeating that part of the Deſign, the Traitors had an expectation of aſſiſtance from *Wales*; and therefore *Digby* and *Catesby*, &c. did write to *Garnet* that he would go along with them thither, where they might expect help; and uſe his intereſt with theirs to make an Inſurrection, and to put that fire, which was before cautiouſly raked up, into an open flame.

Antilog. p. 149. *a* & 163. b

If

If we now reflect upon what hath been ſaid in this Section, and conſider the Deſign it ſelf, which, in the beginning might be managed by few, yet, in the proceſs of it, did require the help of many to take it up, to back and carry it on. If we further conſider the perſons at firſt engaged in it; who were not only Men of experience, but alſo experienced in the ſame way, and would not venture upon ſuch a Deſign without a ſufficient Force. If we laſtly conſider the Proviſions that were made for ſuch a Deſign; together with the other Circumſtances relating to it, it will appear that what the Author of the Catholick Apology ſaith, *viz.* that *it is impoſſible that the Catholick Party ſhould be engaged in it*, is ſo far from being true; that it may with much greater aſſurance be affirmed, to be *impoſſible that the Catholick Party ſhould not have been involved in it.*

Cath. Apol. p. 402.

SECT. III.

Thoſe that fled and ſuffered for it, were really guilty.

THE flight of Perſons upon a Charge and Accuſation, though it is not always a certain ſign of Guilt, yet is ſo generally preſumed to be ſo, upon the ſuppoſition that he that flies is conſcious to himſelf of being criminal; that it's a Queſtion always asked upon Trial, *Whether the Perſon fled for it?* But becauſe this is only a general and not an univerſal mark of Guilt, I ſhall not take the advantage of it, but leave that for another and more certain Evidence, which is, *Good and ſufficient Teſtimony.* *Thuanus* relates that many were baniſhed or fled upon this account; and that when ſome of them were courteouſly received

Hiſt. 1605.

by *Dominick Wilkes*, then Governour of *Calice*, and were pitied by him as they were thus forced to an Exile; one of them ſmartly replied, *that is the leaſt part of our grief; but that which doth afflict us indeed, is that we could not accompliſh ſo brave and good a Deſign.* Theſe were ſo daring as to own and glory in it; but, on the contrary, the Jeſuits, *Gerard* and *Greenwel*, when it miſcarried, and brought the ill opinion of the world upon them and their Society, did diſown it, and would neither be ſaid to encourage it or know it, however they might have been pleaſed with it, if it had ſucceeded. And therefore it will be neceſſary to ſhew that they were really as guilty, though they fled from the perſuit of Juſtice, as the others that were taken and ſuffered by it: But becauſe much of this ſtory will fall in with *Garnet's*, I ſhall chuſe rather to begin with his.

That any of the Lay-men that ſuffered upon this account were not really guilty, I think no body undertakes to prove. Only *More* doth offer ſomewhat to leſſen the Guilt of Sir *Everard Digby*, making him to ſay at his Trial, that *he was guilty only of concealing the Plot, but otherwiſe he had done and conſpired nothing.* But this Account is partly imperfect, and partly falſe. Sir *Everard* indeed upon his Apprehenſion, did deny, with *ſolemn Proteſtations and Execrations*, that he was privy to the *Plot of Powder*; but being herein confronted by the Teſtimony of *Faux*, who confeſſed that Sir *Everard* told him when he was at his Houſe, *that he was afraid the Powder was dank, &c.* he at laſt did acknowledge it, and upon his Trial confeſſed the Indictment; which none of the reſt did.

Mori Hiſt. p. 312.

Antilog. p. 110. a. Proceedings P. 140.

Ibid. p. 127.

By which inſtance, we may conceive what kind of dealing we are to expect when we come to the caſe of the Perſons of their *own Order*, when the Jeſuits write after this rate about the caſe of thoſe that are not. For of them

them alſo we ſhall find ſeveral concerned; as Father *Creſwell* Legier Jeſuit in *Spain*, Father *Baldwin* Legier in *Flanders*, *Parſons* at *Rome*, *Garnet* Provincial in *England*, *Gerrard*, *Teſmond* [alias *Greenway*,] *Hammond*, *Hall* and others, *who are known to have dealt and paſſed through the whole Action*, as Sir *Edward Coke* ſaith. But amongſt thoſe, *Garnet*, *Gerard*, *Teſmond*, *Hammond* and *Hall* were more immediately concerned; and *Garnet* and *Hall* were taken and Executed for it. But, notwithſtanding, their Trial was in the face of the World; and *Garnet's* at *Guild-Hall* in the open Court, before five Earls, three of the chief Judges, and the Lord Mayor of *London*; Notwithſtanding all the proofs produced, and a fair Hearing of whatever the Priſoners could ſay for themſelves; Notwithſtanding they were tried and caſt by a Jury of impartial Perſons, and ſuch as they, nor any elſe, could have any exception againſt; yet they ſhall be ſaid to ſuffer as Martyrs, and *pulverariæ conjurationis obtentu*, upon the pretence of the Powder-Treaſon, as one ſaith: *To be accuſed through envy and malice, and condemned by a very unjuſt Judgment*, as ſaith another. But with how little Truth or pretence all this is ſaid, will be evident, if we conſider,

Proceeds p. 96.

Widdrington Append. p. 141.

Tort. Torti. p. 291.

Antil. p. 9.

Alegambe Biblioth. Index Martyr. An. 1606.

Mori Hiſt. p. p. 312, & 334.

(1.) That they knew of this Plot in *Confeſſion* at leaſt. This *Garnet* more particularly pleaded for himſelf, and this is the chief Plea inſiſted upon by his Apologiſts. And to make this Plea the more effectual, they ſpeak much of the ſacredneſs and inviolableneſs of that Seal and Sacrament (as they call it) which *ought not to be broken, or the ſecrets of it betraid for the avoiding of any miſchief how great ſoever*, as one ſaith; or, *the ſaving Chriſtianity from ruine*, as ſaith *Cath. Apol.* *This* (ſaith the former) *is of divine Right, and if God had not thus ſecured it, he would be* Carnifex, & fidem falleret; *he would be a Murderer, and breaker of*

Eudæm. Apol. p. 337.

Ibid. 336.

his Faith. This *Garnet* did offer in his own behalf, that he was bound to keep the ſecrets of Confeſſions, *&c.* and when asked by the Earl of *Nottingham*, if *one confeſſed this day to him, that to morrow morning he meant to kill the King with a Dagger, if he muſt conceal it?* anſwered, *that he muſt conceal it.* Now, if this be true, what a caſe is the World in, that when a Deſign is laid to deſtroy the Royal Family, the flower of the Nobility and Gentry, and thouſands of perſons beſides; a Prieſt ſhall be obliged more to ſecrecy upon Confeſſion, than to a diſcovery, notwithſtanding all the miſchief that ſhall thereby enſue. A principle ſo much contrary to the peace of the World and the welfare of mankind, that I am confident if it was turned againſt themſelves they would be the firſt that ſhould condemn it; and that if ſuch a Plot had been undertaken and carried on againſt *the Pope and the whole Colledge of Cardinals*, (as *Widdrington* hath the Caſe) to ſend them out of the World by the like means, (as this was): neither his Holineſs would have condemnd the Confeſſor if he had diſcovered it; or have commended him, if he had concealed it upon this reaſon, and thought himſelf obliged to him for his fidelity that way. Without doubt they would all ſay, as *Garnet* at laſt did——*I muſt needs confeſs*, ſaid he, *that the Laws made againſt ſuch concealing are very good and juſt, for it is not fit the ſafety of a Prince ſhould depend upon any other man's Conſcience.* And if the Laws are good that make them guilty of Treaſon, who do (though upon account of Confeſſion) conceal it, then thoſe that thus do conceal it are far from being innocent, or fit to be inrolled amongſt the number of Martyrs.

Proceedings p. 215. Caſaub. Epiſt. ad Ducæum p. 137.

Widdringtoni Appen. p. 149.

Proceed. p. 186.

But ſuppoſing it was only in Confeſſion that they had any knowledg of it, yet there are ſeveral caſes excepted and

and which it is lawful for them to divulge it in. Such a caſe is Hereſie; according to that known verſe amongſt the Caſuiſts,

Hæreſis eſt crimen, quod nec confeſſio celat.

Thus *Dominicus Soto* determines, (who is *rigidior cuſtodia Sigilli*, as Biſhop *Andrews* ſaith of him) *Such crimes are not to be concealed, but immediatly to be diſcloſed, quod plurimùm timendum eſt in crimine Hæreſis*, becauſe there is very much danger in caſe of Hereſie. Tort. Torti. p. 295. *Soto de rat. deteg. Secret. mem. 3. Q. 4. Conſ. 2.*

Such again is any crime that tends to the damage of a Community. Such again are all thoſe crimes which are of pernicious conſequence in themſelves, and that are only in intention, but not committed by the Penitent.

Such again are thoſe where the Confeſſion is not by way of Contrition, but Advice.

In theſe and the like Caſes the Caſuiſts of their own Church have accounted it lawful and neceſſary to diſcloſe them; and accordingly theſe ſecrets of Confeſſion have often been divulged; as hath been ſhewn by Biſhop *Andrews* upon this occaſion. So far is the Author of the *Catholick Apology* from ſpeaking truth, when he ſaith that *this Sacrament* [of Confeſſion] *is of ſuch reverence among* us(unleſs he mean the Jeſuits and ſome late Writters)*that we cannot lawfully diſcloſe a ſecret known by it, though 'twere to ſave Chriſtianity from ruin.* And ſo far is Dr. *Stillingfleet* from having nothing but *Confidence, Malice*, &c. *to drive him on*, when he ſaith, their Caſuiſts acknowledg, that *Hereſie told in Confeſſion may be revealed.* *Tort. Torti. p. 291, 292.* Cath. Apol. Paper 418. p. 426.

But; further ſuppoſing this was told in Confeſſion, yet the *Confeſſor is to diſſwade the Penitent from it*; (as the *Catholick Apology* at leaſt ſeems to own,) and it is to be ſuppoſed, that if he is not to be diſſwaded; yet, then to divert Cath. Apol. p. 418.

divert the miſchief, the Confeſſor may and ought to diſcover, (for elſe he leaves the Caſe as he finds it, with reſpect to the Perſon or Perſons concerned) provided, ſay their Caſuiſts, that *whilſt he diſcovers the Crime, he doth conceal the Criminal.*

Now if all this be true, that a Secret may be communicated in Confeſſion, and the Confeſſor not ſin in revealing it; then what will it ſignifie that the Gunpowder-Treaſon was diſcovered in Confeſſion, if the matter confeſſed was of that kind as would make it lawful, fit, and neceſſary to be revealed? And certainly, next to *the ſaving Chriſtianity from ruin*, there can ſcarcely be a greater reaſon for breaking the Seal of that Sacrament (as they call it) than that a Royal Family, the Nobility (in great part) and Gentry, &c. of a Nation would have bin by one blow deſtroyed. And yet this was patiently heard, and the Penitent not ſo much as really diſſwaded. For all that *Garnet* could ſay was, that he did *oblige* Greenwel *to deſiſt, and that he hoped that he had ſo done: and that he went unto Warwick-ſhire with a purpoſe to diſſwade Mr.* Cateſby; though he knew *Catesby* would not come thither till the day after the Blow was given; as hath been before obſerved.

Proceedings p. 216. *Antilog.* p. 143 b.

(2.) But all this while this is far otherwiſe, it being very notorious that this Plot was diſcovered out of Confeſſion to *Garnet* and *Greenwell*, *&c.* as will appear from the account which *Garnet* himſelf gives of it, (as far as he was concerned.) In which he delivers his mind very uncertainly. Sometimes he ſaith, *it was in Confeſſion.* Sometimes, he ſaith it was out of Confeſſion, but it was with relation unto Confeſſion; Sometimes it was by way of advice. Again, Let him be asked, what he thought of *Greenwell*'s intention in it? he ſaith, that perhaps *Green-*

Tortura Torti. p. 285.

well

well had no thoughts of Confeſſion, but might diſcover it to him under a leſſer Seal and Obligation of Secrecy. Now what can a perſon more diſcover himſelf by, than that in ſo ſolemn a thing as Confeſſion, and ſuch an extraordinary caſe as was then revealed unto him, he yet knew not, if we may believe him, what the perſon confeſſing did intend, or in what way he himſelf received it; whether it was communicated to him as a Friend for advice, or as to a Confeſſor for the diſburthing of the Conſcience. But if we further enquire how this was diſcovered to him, we are ſtill further to ſeek; It was firſt walking in the Field, and afterward what they had frequent Conference about; as about the way of doing it, the progreſs in it, and the courſe they were to take after the firſt blow was given. This plainly proves it to be matter of Conſultation rather than Confeſſion; and that it was rather what he was pleaſed with, than what he ſought to hinder. So that the whole ſtory about *Greenwel's* Confeſſion to *Garnet*, and *Catesby's* Confeſſion to *Greenwel*, ſeems to be no other than *fabula formalis*, a ſtory of *Garnet's* own invention, as he in his private Letters doth acknowledge.

Ibid. p. 296. Antilog. p. 140. b. *Widdrington App.* p. 137.

Laſtly, If we would underſtand the Caſe, let us follow him to his death; and yet there we are at a loſs, where he ſaith, *what he knew in particulars, was in Confeſſion*; and yet when minded by the Recorder, that the King had it under his own hand, *that Greenway* [or Greenwell] *told him of this not as a fault, but by way of Conſultation*, &c. he anſwered, *whatſoever was under his hand was true.* To which he added, that *inaſmuch as he diſcloſed not the things he knew, he confeſſed himſelf juſtly condemned*, &c. From which it appears, that either he thought it was lawful upon good Reaſons to divulge what he heard in Confeſſion, or elſe what was diſcovered to him was not in Confeſſion.

Procee p. 226.

3. But

(3.) But this was ſo far from being diſcovered to the Jeſuits in Confeſſion, that it was by them that the Conſciences of the ſcrupulous were ſatisfied: As that of *Catesby* by *Garnet*; that of *Bates* by *Greenwell*; that of *Littleton* by *Hall*; and all of them at *Holbeach*, as far as Abſolution for the Fact could do it, by *Hammond*. That *Catesby* was herein guided by the reſolution and opinion of *Garnet*; both the Caſe he put to him, and the ſatisfaction that he (upon the Provincial's anſwer to him) gave to the reſt, of the lawfulneſs of it, will ſufficiently prove. The *Catholick Apology* doth ſay, that *nothing is more falſe than that* Garnet *ſhould determine that the Innocent and Guilty might lawfully in this Plot be deſtroyed together, if it were for the greater good*; and takes it upon the word of Father *More* and the other Apologiſts, that *Catesby pretending to go a Souldier into the Low-Countries, did propoſe* only *what might be done in a juſt War, when in blowing up a Mine the Innocent would ſuffer as well as the Nocent?* It is well he ſhifts it off to them, ſince this Perſon of Honour knows better, and cannot but be ſenſible that the Records of a Nation, and the proceedings of a Court of Juſtice in *England*, are much more to be heeded than a company of partial Apologiſts.

Cath. Apol. p. 422.

But as it is plainly affirm'd all along in the *Proceedings*; ſo it is otherwiſe very evident, that this Caſe was not put by *Catesby* to *Garnet*, nor underſtood by *Garnet* himſelf, with reſpect to any War, or Employment, that *Catesby* pretended to have in it, in the *Netherlands*. For (1.) if it had been ſo, *Garnet* would moſt certainly have pleaded after that manner, and not as he did; *I thought*, ſaid *Garnet*, *it had been an idle queſtion, though afterwards I did verily think, he intended ſomething that was not good*; Here is not a word of a War, or of the *Low-Countries*, or of his going thither. Nay, *Garnet* ſaith expreſly, *only Mr.* Cates-

Ibid. p. 188.

by

by *asked him in general the queſtion.* But (2.) if this had been the caſe, and that it was ſo propounded by *Catesby*, as they would have it, yet what needed ſo great a privacy, that he ſhould come to *Garnet* by way of ſecret Confeſſion? Since the Caſe, as they now dreſs it up, is what might be put in any place or company. (3.) If the Caſe was ſuch what needed *Catesby* to be ſo ſolicitous in it; and after the firſt reſolution of it by *Garnet* to come again upon the ſame buſineſs? (4.) Eſpecially conſidering that *Garnet* knew very well, if *Catesby* had put it after that manner, that he was not in earneſt; for there was another reaſon for his pretence of obtaining a Regiment, and going to *Flanders*, as hath been before obſerved. (5.) Its a ſign that the Caſe was not ſo put by *Catesby*; ſince it is acknowledged by *Garnet*, that *he did verily think, that he in that queſtion intended ſomething that was not good.* Now how could he well diſcern ſo much from thence, if *Catesby* had pretended only ſcruple of Conſcience about what he might lawfully do, now he was going to ſerve in the Wars. The queſtion if put after that manner hath in it nothing but what is fair, and gives no reaſon to ſuſpect any thing that is not good; and therefore its likely, to avoid the objection that might be made againſt this way of framing the Caſe, it is that *More* adds, that Garnet *diſcovered that* Cateſby *had ſome great Deſign by frequent converſe with him.* And that indeed is alſo true, and it is as true that the Caſe was never ſo put under the diſguiſe of a War. For laſtly, *Garnet* himſelf doth acknowledg, that Cateſby *in his name and by his authority did ſatisfie the reſt of the lawfulneſs of the Fact.* Now it cannot be ſuppoſed that *Catesby* did not underſtand *Garnet*, *from whoſe ſide he never was*, as they ſay; or *that he ſhould abuſe his friend that truſted him above all the reſt*, from the knowledg and experience he had of him. It's

Tort. Torti, p. 282. *Antilog.* p. 137. b. Proceed. p. 170.

Eudæm. Apol p. 284.

Mori Hiſt. p. 325.

Caſaub. Epiſt ad Ducæum. p. 99.

Tort. Torti. p. 282.

Proceed. p. 105. certain that when *Rookwood* made it a matter of Conſcience to take away ſo much blood, *Catesby* replied, that *he was reſolved and that by good Authority (as coming from the Superior of the Jeſuits) that in Conſcience it might be done, yea though it were with the deſtruction of many Innocents, rather than that the Action ſhould quail.* In like manner was *Keys* ſatisfied. So Sir *Everard Digby* doth ſay; *For my keeping it ſecret, it was cauſed by certain belief that thoſe which were beſt able to judge of the lawfulneſs of it, had been acquainted with it, and given way unto it.* And of this we have a clear proof from him. For whereas there was a Breve obtained from the Pope by *Garnet*, for quieting ſome broils amongſt the Papiſts in *Wales*, in *May.* 1605. (or rather *upon the pretence of ſuch broils*, as *Eudæmon* would have it) which ſome now would make us believe were to forbid all Inſurrections and Conſpiracies whatſoever, and which it ſeems ſome did then ſo underſtand; we are told the meaning of it, in Sir *Everard's* Papers, who writes thus: *Before I knew any thing of this Plot, I did ask Mr.* Farmer [i.e. Garnet] *what the meaning of the Pope's Brief was; he told me that they were not (meaning the Prieſts) to undertake or procure Stirs: but yet they would not hinder any, neither was it the Pope's mind they ſhould, that ſhould be undertaken for Catholick Good.* And he preſently adds, *This anſwer with Mr.* Catesby's *proceedings with him and me, gave me abſolute beliefe that the matter in general was approved, though every particular was not known:* By which means he came to ſo great ſatisfaction in it, that he ſaith, *I could give unanſwerable reaſons for the good this would have done the Catholick Cauſe.*

Proceed. p. 167. Paper. 1. Proceedings p. 168. *Eudæm. Apol* p. 255. Paper 9. Paper 4.

But *Garnet* was not alone (though his Opinion and Judgment in the caſe was of greateſt Authority) for others alſo did follow him in the ſame practice; So *Greenwel*, whoſe

(whose true name was *Tesmond*, (a) but who abroad went under the name of *Beaumont*) (b) did satisfie *Bates* (Mr. *Catesby's* Servant) when he feard the unlawfulness of the Action, assluring him that it was *no offence to conceal it, nor sin to do it for a good Cause.* (c)

(a) *Tort. Torti.* p. 281.
(b) Mori Hist. p. 336.
(c) Proceed. p. 105.

They tell us (d) that *Bates* recanted of this Information (for it was he that accused *Greenwel.*) But (1.) that is no credit to them; for in that Letter, which he is said to have written to his Confessor, he recants also that he had seen *Greenwel* and *Garnet*, which he doth there declare to be true in it self (e). (2.) This report was spread of him, at the first, when all could bear witness of the falsness of it; he not recanting to, nor at his death (f).

(d) *Mori Hist.* p. 314.
(e) *Ibid* p. 315.
(f) Proceed. p. 221.

So *Gerard* did absolve and give the Sacrament to the five first of the Conspirators. The Author of the *Catholick Apology* (g) doth say that he did deny both *by a publick writing in which he called God to witness, that he knew not of the Plot, no not so much as in Confession; and also upon Oath at* Rome *when examined by the General of his Order.* He did also saith another *appeal to his familiar Friend, Sir* Everard Digby. But in confutation of this, we have the Confession of *Faux* and *Thomas Winter*, the only survivers of the five that did thus receive the Sacrament of *Gerard*, and were absolved by him: whom though they did deny at the first to name, yet did afterward accuse him of it; and that he was thus charged by some, Sir *Everard* saith, he was told. As for his Appeal to Sir *Everard*, he knew that he might do it with safety and confidence, since that Gentleman had again and again satisfied them, that he would not confess his knowledg of any Priest, nor of Him above any. And if he could work thus upon another person to protest and deny, even to the death, it may well be supposed that he himself was not without those princi-

Antilog. p. 4. b & 162.
Proceed. p. 166.
(g) Cath. Apol. p. 423. *Mori. Hist.* p. 282.

Antilog. p. 159. b

Paper 5.

Ibid.

ples which be had furniſhed another with; nor would be wanting in the uſe of them, when his own life and reputation, and the honour of his Religion was concerned to have it remain a Secret. And this alſo is no new thing; for we find *Fitz-Herbert* taking the ſame courſe for his own vindication, in a charge of the like Nature.

Antilog. p. 123. a.

Hammond the Jeſuit is another, whom we find concerned in this capacity, who did abſolve the Conſpirators at the houſe of *Rob. Winter*, when they were in actual Rebellion: And for which the Apologiſt hath nothing elſe to ſay, but *who can tell whether* Hammond *did not oblige them to lay down their Arms before he did abſolve them; or whether they did not bring ſuch Arguments for continuing in them, as might render it probable, and then he was bound to abſolve them?*

Proceedings P. 123.

Eudæm. Apol. p. 273. &c.

But as to the former, it is certainly otherwiſe; for they not only continued in the ſame poſture of Rebellion after abſolution, which they were in before; But alſo *Hammond* adviſed *Henry Morgan* to *defend the Cauſe to the utmoſt* before he abſolved him. Which is further confirmed by what *Stephen Littleton* did ſay; who when asked whether he was abſolv'd for the Fact, or had his Conſcience ſatisfied by any about it, *viz.* at that time; anſwered, *that he would rather dye than reveal the ſecrets of that matter.* Which doth imply that he had bin thus abſolved, and was confirmed.

Antilog. p. 154. b

Ibid. p. 155.

As to the latter, *viz.* the *Doctrine of a probable opinion*, it ſerves rather to condemn than excuſe them; for if the opinion of a Doctor, or their own (and the good of the Cauſe ſhall ſerve to procure both) may make an Opinion probable, then *Jac. Clemens*, and *Ravilliac*, and all the Regicides in the World, may be defended, and defend themſelves. But yet, even this will not ſalve the reputa-

tion

tion of *Hammond*; for *Rookwood* believed his concealment of this Treason to be a Sin, and confessed it so to him: but he absolved him from all his Sins notwithstanding, without taking notice of this particular.

Rookwood thought it to be unlawful, and yet *Hammond* absolved him, as if he never had so thought.

Another of the Jesuits is *Hall*, or *Oldcorn*, who was privy to it, and did satisfie *Humphry Littleton*, that did begin to suspect the lawfulness of the Plot, and to think God was not pleased with it from the disaster *Catesby*, &c. met with; But *Hall* told him that *we must not judg the cause by the event*, and gave him several instances to confirm it. This *Humphry Littelton* did confess. But saith the Apologist, he did at his *Execution beg pardon of* Hall *for it*.

Proceedings p. 172. *Antilog. p.* 150. b *Eudæm. Apol* p. 270.

But if he did, he must ask his pardon for what was true; for *Hall* himself in the substance of it did confess what *Littelton* accused him of. But how could that be, that he should beg pardon of him at the place of execution; when, though they suffered the same day at *Worcester*, yet not at the same time, and *Littelton* was dead before *Hall* came thither.

Antilog. p. 150. b

Ibid. p. 151. b.

4. The Jesuits did not only satisfie the Consciences of others and absolve them; but also were parties in the Treason themselves. I shall not here insist upon what *Smith*, the Bishop of *Chalcedon* said of *Gerard*, that he *boasted that he had largely sweat with working in the Mine*; because I find it not upon Record. But there are several things laid to their charge that will sufficiently prove, that they were actually concerned in it. As,

(1.) We find that at the first beginning they were present at their most private Consultations; and so intimate in that juncture was *Gerard* with *Catesby*, that he lodged with him in *Percy's* house, as *Faux* confessed.

Antilog. p. 160. a. Proceedings. p. 113.

(2.) We

Proceedings p.113. (2) We find that ſome of them adminiſtred the Oath of Secrecy to the Conſpirators; So *Gerard* to *Catesby*, &c. and *Greenwel* to *Bates*.

Ibid. p.124. Antilog.p. 160. b (3.) They were alſo buſie in buying up ſtore of Horſes and Arms; and *Gerard* was more particularly imployed herein, as he had skill, and pretended to teach the riding of the great Horſe.

Proceed. p. 167 & 169. Ibid. p.125. *Antilog.p.* 160. a Pap.5. Compared with pap.3. (4.) That they had frequent conſultations about it; as *Garnet* with *Catesby* and *Treſham* about the ſtrength of the Catholicks: *Greenwel* with *Garnet* about a Protector. And *Garnet*, *Gerard* and *Greenwel* with Sir *Everard Digby*, &c. for they ſeem to be the *Three* whom Sir *Everard* is ſo careful to conceal; and whom he therefore is ſo careful to conceal, becauſe of ſome particular charge that might be brought againſt them, for what was ſaid or done when together with him; as may be collected from his Papers.

Proceedings. p.216,218. (5.) When the Conſpirators were in Arms, *Greenwel* came to them from *Garnet*, and ſo had *Garnet* come likewiſe, but for fear his order might irreparably ſuffer by his appearance. *Greenwel* went from them to raiſe a Party and make an Inſurrection. And *Hammond* continued with them.

Now if to ſatisfie the ſcrupulous and abſolve the guilty, and to oblige to Secrecy; if Conſulting, Adviſing, Aſſiſting, and accompanying with the Traitors will bring the Prieſts into the number; then they will be guilty. And its not all their own Declarations, or Apologies written by others on their behalf, will make them innocent, as long as ſuch a Charge remains upon Record againſt them.

Caſaub. ad Ducæum. Proceedings p.173. It is no wonder then, that *Garnet* after all his confidence, ſhould profeſs that he *would give all the world to clear his Innocency*; and that he that hoped at the firſt to *eſcape for*

Want

Want of proof; ſhould have nothing to ſay for himſelf, when he was overwhelmed, as he ſaid, with *ſo great a Cloud of Witneſſes*. Proceedings p. 196, & 174.

From which evidence, as he did at laſt confeſs, what they could from other proof charge upon him; ſo from his own confeſſion given under his hand, he was, when he would have ſtray'd from the path of Truth at his death, forced into it again by the admonition of the Recorder then preſent. For a little to palliate his caſe and clear himſelf, he ſaid, that *what he knew in particulars was in Confeſſion*, which was contrary to what he before had confeſſed in four points; as the Recorder then ſhewed; and how he could thus equivocate or worſe, and yet *behave himſelf like a faithful Servant of Jeſus Chriſt at his death*, as the Author of the *Catholick Apology ſaith*, all mankind, but themſelves, cannot, I believe, underſtand. Proceedings p. 225. P. 420.

SECT. IV.

This Conſpiracy was purely upon the account of Religion.

AS our Adverſaries before have done what they could to caſt off the *odium* of this Conſpiracy from the Party in general, and from the Jeſuits in particular, by making a few Gentlemen only and their dependents concerned in it: So they uſe as much Art to clear their Religion from the guilt of it; being ſenſible that if this be found faulty, the others are not to be defended, but the whole Party muſt fall under cenſure. Therefore they labour might and main to acquit themſelves well herein, and tell us that as theſe perſons were few in number, ſo

so they did proceed upon discontent, and not upon the score of Religion.

Proceed. p. 127. Sometimes they plead, the King did before his coming into *England* give them good hopes of the exercise of their Religion, which when deceived in, they were exasperated. Sometimes their Persecutions were so great, *that they almost hated life it self for their sake.* Or as the Author of the *Catholick Apology* words it; *That which drove these Gentlemen into this wickedness, was the want of Christian patience, or a despair of any ease by this King from Queen* Elizabeth's *cruel and horrid Laws*, &c.

Eudæm. Apol. p. 233. Ibid. p. 290.

Cath. Apol. p. 416.

Now supposing (1.) that thus it was, that the King had before promised favour to them, and instead of that had permitted *the horrid and cruel Laws*, as he calls them, to have their course; is this sufficient to excuse their cursed Design, or to prove that Religion was not concerned in it? Was it upon any other account (if we grant this) than Religion, when they hoped for Toleration; and was it not Religion that put them upon Rebellion, because they had not that Toleration?

But (2.) indeed there was no such reason for their Conspiracy; for they had no such assurances from the King. Such a report was spread abroad by themselves, as *Watson* doth acknowledge; but with what truth will appear not only from *Watson's* Confession, who two days before his death protested upon his Soul to the Earl of *Northampton*, that *he could never draw the smallest comfort from him in those degrees*; but also from *Watson's* Treason, who would never have attempted that, if he had been satisfied of the King's good intentions towards those of his Religion. It is not unlikely but that the King, who after his coming in did receive them freely and favourably, might before treat them after the same manner; but how far it was from

Antilog. p. 137. b

Proceedings p. 137.

any

any promiſe, *Watſon* further declares, *I could never draw more from the King*, ſaith he, *than that he would have the Catholicks apprehend, that as he was a ſtranger to this ſtate, ſo till he under ſtood in all points how thoſe matters ſtood, he would not promiſe favour any way* Ibid.

But how far the King was from affording them any ſuch favours, as they pretend, is further declared in a *Memorandum* in the *Star-Chamber*; For ſome of the Puritans having ſpread a rumour, that the King intended to grant a Toleration to Papiſts, the Lords ſeverally declared, how the King was diſcontented with the ſaid falſe rumour, and had made but the day before a Proteſtation to them, *that he never intended it, and that he would ſpend the laſt drop of blood in his body before he would do it, and prayed that before any of his Iſſue ſhould maintain any other Religion than what he truly profeſſed and maintained, that God would take them out of the World.* As falſe alſo, and leſs ground is there for that of their Perſecution. For he was ſo far from it that he gave honour at his firſt coming to many of them, and did admit all without diſtinction to his preſence upon juſt occaſion of acceſs, as the Earl of *Northampton* ſhews; and took away the Mulcts that were laid upon them. And in his firſt Speech in Parliament *Mar.* 19. 1603 the King did make a propoſal of clearing the Laws of ſuch interpretations *as might tend to the hurt of the innocent as well as the guilty*, as he ſaith; which Speech was made after the Treaſon of *Watſon* was diſcovered; that not provoking the King to change his behaviour toward any other of them than thoſe that were Confederates in it. So that if we truly enquire into the caſe, unleſs Lenity and Favour is Perſecution, we ſhall hardly find what may be ſo called, And ſo much indeed doth *Suarez* ſay; *that King* James's *kindneſſes (inaſmuch as they proceeded from political reaſons) may be well eſteemed part of their Perſecution.*

Crook's Reports. An. 2d *Jac.*

Proceed. p. 132.

Caſaub. ad Ducæum p. 75.

K. *James's* Works. p. 491.

Tortura Torti. p. 85.

Suar. Def. l. 6. c. 10 de Perſec. Angl.

But (3.) There could be no such reason for this Conspiracy; for they had laid the foundation of it, and were carrying it on before the King was fetched in his Throne. This *Watson* confess'd; and its also manifest; for *Christopher Wright* was dispatched into *Spain* to engage that Kings assistance immediatly upon Queen *Elizabeth's* death, and the Powder Treason it self was formed in the first year of King *James's* Reign.

Tortur. Torti. p. 83.

We see then they had no such provocation given them as is pretended, and that if they had, it doth not at all infer that they engaged upon this Design not upon the account of Religion. But if we should grant that they had such a provocation, and that the provocation and Religion did not go together in it: Yet we have other reasons to shew, that it was upon a religious account that this was undertaken, and that I shall make evident,

(1.) From the Principles which they went upon.

(2.) From their own Declaration.

From their Principles. As,

(1.) They held that an Heretical Prince might and ought to be deposed; So *Faux* said *he was moved to this; because the King was not his lawful Sovereign, or the Anointed of God, in respect he was an Heretick.*

Proceed. p. 38.

(2.) That the Pope had sufficient power, by vertue of his Supremacy, to depose such; This was *Cateshye's* reason, for saith he, if *the Popes Breves were of force to keep him* [King James] *out, they are also of no less Authority to thrust him out.*

(3.) That it was lawful for the good of the Church, and the furtherance of the Catholick Cause to kill and to destroy; This was the reason upon which *Catesby* and all the rest were satisfied; and from whence Sir *Everard* did with a great confidence affirm, *I could give unanswerable*

Paper. 4.

reasons

reasons for the good that this would have done for the Catholick Cause. Which it seems he was furnished with from a *Latin* Book that he met with, perhaps *Delrio.* If these and the like be not principles of their Religion, then we are to seek for them; and if these are the Principles upon which they were satisfied, then it was the Cause of Religion that they fought in. Paper 8.

(2.) But if this will not do, let us attend to their own Declarations. *I was moved hereunto,* said Faux, *only for Religion and Conscience sake, the King not being my lawful Soveraign,* &c. So Sir Everard Digby, *no other cause drew me to hazard my Fortune and Life, but Zeal to Gods Religion.* From all which we have reason to say with King *James,* that *it cannot be denied, that it was the only blind Superstition of their errors in Religion, that led them to this desperate device.* And must think the Author of the *Catholick Apology* let fall a great Truth, though against his own mind, that when Dr. *Stillingfleet* had asserted, that *the Plotters motives were from their Religion*: doth reply, *'Tis as true that the Plot had its rise from* Clem. 8. *Breves.* For so it had in a great measure, as I have before shewed. Paper 1. K. James's Speech. Proceed. p. 10.

SECT. V.

THey never gave to the World any real and good satisfaction of their abhorrency of this bloody Design. The Catholick Apology doth tell us, that *Cardinal* Bellarmin *doth express the Treason, not only by the name of Horrid, but also adds, I excuse not the Fact, I abominate King-killing, I detest Conspiracies.* And presently adds of his own, *Did ever Writer, whether Priest or Lay-man, English-man or Stranger, own the real Plotters not to be Villains?* But the Question is, First, who are those he calls *real Plotters?* not the Jesuits, or hardly *Catesby,* whom they do so much ap- Cath. Apol. p. 427.

plaud, not only for his Parts but his Piety. Again, what doth he mean by owning the real Plotters to be Villains? Is it by calling them by hard names? is it that they do abominate the thing in words of the highest detestation? All this may be, and hath been done by more than *Bellarmin* or this Author, and yet it is not good satisfaction. Is it by writing Apologies and Supplications? that was done in 1603 and 1604, just whilst the Powder-Treason was in its agitation. How shall we give credit to them? when the Principles these Persons went upon were never disowned to the World, upon any sufficient Authority; and the Persons that escaped from publick Justice, were cherished, and those that suffered by it to this day, honoured. They can hardly forbear extolling even the chief of the Conspirators [*Catesby*] to the Heavens, as a *Man very eminent for great endowments of mind and an incredible sweetness of temper.* Nay, the whole pack of them, setting aside this business, were Persons of *very pious minds and consciences.* But when they come to the Jesuites, they spare no words nor Rhetorick to describe their Merits, and not contented with proclaiming their Innocency, they will canonize them for Saints, and enrol them in their Catalogue of Martyrs. Thus we find they did quickly by *Garnet*, who in their College at *Rome* had his Picture set up with *verus Christi Martyr*, and his Name is still with *Oldcorn* (i. e. *Hall*) to be seen in their Catalogues of Martyrs; which may be done, and is, without *that great Formality of the Church*, which the Catholick Apology doth speak of, and thinks to controul *Widdrington*'s Information by. But this is not enough, for at their Death are several Miracles pretended to be wrought, as they would have us believe: For *Oldcorn*'s Bowels, *saith the Legend, burnt sixteen days together, which answered the number of years that he laboured in propagating their Religion in* England. And

K. *James*'s Works p. 463.

Eudæm. Apol. p. 4.

Ibid. p. 275.

K. *James*'s Works p. 333.

Widdringtoni Appendix p. 123.

Alegambe Bibliotb.

Cath. Apol. p. 421.

Mori Hist. p. 335.

Garnet

Garnet was no ſooner dead, but preſently his Face muſt be pictured to the very life by a drop of blood that fell upon a Straw. Though thoſe that did then ſee it (which was about 19 weeks after *Garnets* Execution) could not ſee much in it like the Face of a Man without a great power of Fancy, and much leſs any thing like the Face of *Garnet* more than that of another. The *Cath. Apology* indeed doth tell us, that *it fell in the form of a Face ſo exactly alike, that all men knew it that had ever ſeen him.* But we are to receive that upon the ſame Credit as what he further ſaith, that *he was quartered for an Article of Faith.* But there was a further wonder in it; for this Straw which had before but a little touch of a Beard, and that had Eyes and Features hardly to be diſcerned, by that time it was preſented to the Spaniſh Embaſſadour, [redacted] it grew to greater perfection; and from a bare Head, in ſome time after, it had its Head encircled with a glorious Crown; as it is deſcribed by themſelves. It is no wonder then, that this Straw which could work ſo great a change in it ſelf, ſhould alſo propagate its kind, for within a while many others were to be ſeen.

Antilog. p. 199. a. *Widdrington Appendix* p. 145. Antilog. p. 200. Cath. Apol. p. 422.

Mori Hiſt. p. 319. *Eudæm. Apol. init.*

What ſhall we ſay more, if the Graſs where *Garnet* and *Oldcorn* laſt ſet their feet in Mr. *Abington's* Houſe, grew up into the exact ſhape of an Imperial Crown, and remain'd ſo as not to be trodden down by the feet of thoſe that came thither, or eat up by the Cattle, as an Author of theirs ſaith? What if there was a ſpring of Oyl broke forth ſuddenly in the place where *Garnet* was executed? as Father *David* at *Ypres* did affirm. What if *Gerard* did eſcape by *Garnets* merits, as he himſelf did declare. After all this who but an Heretick, can believe otherwiſe than that he was Innocent, and died a Martyr, and is now a Saint? that it was a meritorious Act to get a Straw or a ſplinter of his Bones, and keep them for Reliques? and

Mori Hiſt. p. 335.

Biſhop Hall Serm. before K. J. Sept. 19. 1624. *Mori Hiſt.* p. 339.

that

that its lawful to pray, as its ſaid they of *Lovain* did, *Sancte Henrice ora pro nobis.*

Widdring. *App.* p. 150. *Fowlis* l. 10. c. 10. *Antil.* p. 3. a

But now what if after all this adoe, *Garnet* ſhould confeſs that he ſinned, What if he ſhould ſay (as he didin his this Letter to Mrs. *Vaux*) *that he died for Treaſon and not for Religion*? Then he was not Innocent, not a Martyr, and whether a Saint or no, another World muſt tell us. Then alſo we may admit the ſtory of the Straw and others explication of it; who ſaid, That it was no wonder to find his Face in Blood, who was a Man that did thirſt after it. This is what *Thuanus*, as well as *Widdrington*, report, and I ſhall end with a remarque that the former hath upon it; *So perilous a thing is it in theſe times to ſay ſuch things for the honour of another, as do exceed belief and the common courſe of Nature; for they may preſently be retorted to his diſparagement.*

Widdringt. App. p. 145.

This is the honour that they have done to the dead, and they were not without ſhewing Favour to the living and thoſe that made their eſcape, *who were never called to account for it by the Pope, much leſs puniſhed for ſo ſcandalous and enormous buſineſs*, as King *James* ſaith. Two of theſe *Greenwel* and *Gerard* lived in *Rome*; the one *Greenwel*, [i. e. *Teſmond*] *the Popes Pœnitentiary*; and the other *Gerard*, a *Confeſſor at Saint* Peters *in Rome*, as *Widdrington* reports. But here the Author of the *Catholick Apology* thinks he hath the advantage of Dr. *Stillingfleet*, from what he relates of theſe two perſons from *Widdrington*; for he ſaith the Pope's Pœnitentiary and Confeſſor at St. *Peter's* are but different names for the ſame thing. But if it was a miſtake it is to err with one of their own Church; *viz. Widdrington* (otherwiſe called *Preſton*) who was not only of their Communion, but alſo a Prieſt, as I have heard from ſuch as knew him in the *Clinck*; and I find in a *MS.* now in my poſſeſſion, that he was one of the thirty Prieſts

K. *James's* Appol. in Works p. 274. *Widdringt.* Apol. p. 151. *Cath. Apol.* p. 417.

MS. Cut Tit. Summar. de rebus relig. in Anglia. An. 1632.

that

that were in Prison here in *England*, *An.* 1632.

But what if after that stir made in this matter, they prove to be different Offices, then *Greenwel* might be *The Pope's Penitentiary*, and *Gerard* a *Confessor* some while in St. *Peter's*; and the Doctor not be ignorant, notwithstanding all that honourable person hath said. For how meanly soever he describes or indeed may think of it, I find the Pope's *Penitentiary* is an Office of respect, and is called by that name, because its called the Court of Penitents, but properly is the Court of Conscience where he officiates; This Office is usually deputed to a Cardinal, who is *Major Pœnitentiarius*, under whom are many subordinate. This is a stated Office, and what such a person (as *Greenwel*) might be employed in, as subordinate, at least. But *Gerard's* Office was occasional, and what, tho he lived in the *English* Colledg at *Rome*, he might very well perform. For *Widdrington* saith, that *many had seen him publickly hearing Confessions at St.* Peter's.

Crashaw's Mittimus, in Advertisement to the Reader.

It is not that these *are high and mighty preferments*, which those Persons were advanced to, that made the Doctor revive this story, (though they are honourable enough amongst them) but that from thence we may see how little they did discourage such proceedings, as those Jesuits were here in *England* concerned in, when such as were equally engaged with those that suffered, should live quietly and respectfully within *Rome* it self, and under the very Eye of his Holiness. From all which we may well say with King *James*, *what a large liberty is by this Doctrine left to Church-men, to hatch or foster any treasonable attempts against Princes, I leave it to your* [speaking to Monarchs, &c.] *consideration, since do what they will, they are accountable to none of us: nay all their treasonable practices must be works of Piety, and they being justly punished for the same, must be presently*

Catho. Apo. Ibid.

King *James* Premoniti-on, in his Works. p. 333.

preſently inrolled in the Liſt of Martyrs and Saints, &c.

If this be their practice, that Traitors are thus excuſed and protected; and the Principles upon which they acted not recalled or cenſured; We have little reaſon to think the World ſecured againſt practices of the like kind, when time ſhall ſerve and the neceſſity of things, in their eſtimation, ſo requires. And we ſhall not then need to vindicate the *Hiſtory of the Powder-Treaſon* (as we now are forced to do) ſince we ſhall then ſee they will repeat it (*mutatis mutandis*) and we can never hope to be freed from attempts of that kind, till they quit their Principles, and the Romiſh Church come to be reformed; which will more pleaſe us than the deſtruction of it, and what is by all good Proteſtants heartily prayed for.

Compendium of the late Tryals, &c. *New Plot of the Papiſts.*

I ſhould now have concluded, but that I find there are ſome that do make uſe of the caſe and circumſtances of the Gunpowder-Treaſon to overthrow the belief that is given to the preſent *Plot*, and by comparing one with another, One doth not queſtion, as he ſaith, but *to convince all thoſe whoſe hearts are not of* Pharaoh's *Temper, and whom the violence of paſſion has not totally deprived of all exerciſe of Reaſon*, that there is no Truth in the thing, nor reaſon to believe any of the Evidence we have for it. Now becauſe of the relation which, this way that they have taken, hath to the Deſign that I have purſued in this Treatiſe; I ſhall add ſomewhat by way of anſwer to it, and in doing ſo,

New Plot. p. 13.

1. I ſhall conſider the caſe as laid down by them.

2. I ſhall ſhew that there is not ſo much difference betwixt Plot and Plot, betwixt the Criminals then and Conſpirators now, as there is an agreement; which I ſhall do by my making a parallel betwixt the one and the other.

3. I

3. I ſhall ſhew the ground of that difference which is betwixt them; and how that what hath been ſaid in their way of compariſon, to invalidate the diſcovery made of the preſent Plot, ſerves little to the purpoſe it was produced for.

There are four things, which the foreſaid Author doth collect from the Hiſtory of the Powder Treaſon. *New Plot.* Ibid.

1. *There was then viſible the overt act of Barrels of Powder laid in the place.*

2. *There was a flight of ſome of the Conſpirators, and their reſiſtance at their taking.*

3. *Thoſe that were Executed, did all confeſs the fact at the time of Execution.*

4. *All perſons indifferently, both Papiſts and Proteſtants, Forreigners and Natives believed the thing*, &c.

And from this he doth proceed to ſhew, that *all things in the preſent Conſpiracy run counter to every particular in that.* When he begins to diſcourſe upon the firſt, he ſaith, *This hainous Plot is built upon the bare teſtimony of the Swearers*, and that *there is not any matter of Fact viſible and apparent, that has any proper tendency, or relation to a Conſpiracy for deſtroying the King, and levying of War.* Indeed he cannot deny, but that there are two things, which if they could be proved to be done by them, as well as it, is manifeſt that ſuch things were, would be juſt matter of accuſation; and they are the death of Sir *Edmonbury Godfry*, and the *Conſult*: but he can put off theſe (he thinks) with a wet finger; and if this be done, leaves all the world to challenge them further with any thing of that nature. *Let not the death of Sir* Edmond *be urged*, ſaith he, *as matter of Fact, becauſe the unfortunate end of that Gentleman, as to the true manner of it, is a Myſtery yet unreveal'd, and is laid at the Papiſts door, juſt as Antichriſt is charged upon the Pope.*

But is the death of that Gentleman ſo eaſily to be put up? Or is it indeed *a myſtery yet unrevealed?* Was it not plainly made out that this Gentleman was murdered, and that he could not both ſtrangle and thruſt himſelf through? And was it not ſo revealed that *Bedlow*, that was to have been one of the Aſſaſinates, and did ſee his body when dead, did of his own accord confeſs it? and *Prance* that had an hand in his death did upon his apprehenſion alſo acknowledg it? And was it not ſo reveal'd that ſome fled for it, and others that were taken, after an open Trial according to courſe at Law, were Executed for it? And ſhall it be ſtill *a Myſtery unrevealed?*

But ſaith he, *there are few unbiaſſed and diſcerning men, that are convinced, that theſe poor Creatures, that ſuffered upon that account, were truly guilty.* What in the mean while doth he make of the Judges and the Jury, were they neither *unbiaſſed nor diſcerning?* or ſhall they be neither, who do believe them to have been guilty upon the ſame Evidence which the Court was then ſatisfied with? But what ſhould hinder *unbiaſſed and diſcerning* men from being *convinced?* was there reaſon to think the matter of the Evidence not to be ſufficient, or the Perſons giving it not to be of ſufficient Credit? Let us conſider the caſe, and that will beſt inform us. The perſons were ſuch as were either actually engaged, or invited ſo to be; that either helped to do it, or did ſee it when done: Both, though not known to one another, concurring, as far as they were concerned, in the ſame circumſtances, as to the Perſon murdered, the poſture of his Body, the place where it was, and the way in which it was to be diſpoſed of, *&c.* And as they did not vary from one another, ſo not from themſelves, in above one point, that the Adverſaries (as I remember) can after all their diligent ſearch find them out in, (if that be true too)

too) and all this fortified by ſeveral Collateral and concurring Teſtimonies. Whilſt in the mean time, the Priſoners were manifeſtly convinced of the contrary; ſaying and unſaying, affirming and denying the ſame things: Sometimes *Berry* did know *Prance* as he paſſed up and down the houſe only; at another time he knew him ſo, as often to drink with him. Sometimes he never had ſuch an order, as he had the 13*th* and 14*th* of *October*, to ſuffer no Strangers, nor any Perſons of Quality to come into *Somerſet-Houſe*; at another time he had received ſuch orders before. Sometimes *Hill* knew not *Kelly*, at another time he owned that he knew him, (for 'tis *Kelly* and not *Girald* that he ſpeaks of more expreſly, notwithſtanding what an Advocate of theirs ſaith.) Sometimes, he left the Lodgings before Sir *Edmonds* death; at another time it was a week or fortnight after, *&c.*

Tryals of *Green*, &c. *p.* 24. p.49. p. 41. & 48. Compared. *Compendium* p. 18. *Tryals* p.57.

But the above ſaid Author, ſaith *Prance*, *did once diſclaim his Evidence before King and Council*: This 'tis true he did, but was ſo little reſolute in it, that as ſoon as he came to Newgate he moſt earneſtly begged of Captain *Richardſon* to go back and aſſure his Majeſty, that all he had that day ſaid at Council was falſe; and that he retracted before for fear of his life, having not a pardon; or if he had, knowing that he ſhould never enjoy it, becauſe of the attempts he might expect to be made upon him; or if both, that however he ſhould loſe his Trade & Livelihood: Theſe, together with his perſwaſion that it was lawful to ſay or ſwear any thing in his way of Religion, did induce him to it. But however *he is not rationally to be believed*, ſaith the Author, *until he ſhall in the ſame circumſtance of dying, declare their guilt, in which they ſo ſolemnly declared their Innocency.* By which way of arguing no man can ever dy with a Lye in his mouth; nor is any perſon or company

New Plot p. p. 14. Tryal's of *Green*, &c: p.26,&70. *Prance's* Narative. p. 23. *&c.* New Plot.

of men to be believed, in whatever they affirm againſt ſuch an one, or upon what grounds ſoever they affirm it, unleſs they are, or till they come to be in the ſame circumſtances with him, that did thus deny it; which is very abſurd to ſay. But to put it ſo far out of queſtion, we are not without this kind of evidence alſo; for *Prance* himſelf, when his Life was deſpair'd of, continued to affirm the truth of whatever he at firſt depoſed, and as ſoon as he was recovered, did own it afreſh before the King and Council. And *Bedlow* upon his Death-bed did declare *upon the Faith of a dying man, and as he hoped for Salvation, that he had wronged no man by his Teſtimony, and what ever he had teſtified concerning the Plot, was true.* Here is then the affirmation of Perſons, not concerned to take away the Life of thoſe men, againſt their denial, who were concerned to ſave their own Lives; and the evidence of perſons *declaring their guilt in the ſame circumſtance of dying, in which the others did ſo ſolemnly declare their Innocence.*

Prance's Narrative. p. 24,25.

Bedlows Examination in his laſt ſickneſs. p. 10.

And laſtly, here is the affirmation of ſuch Perſons, who had no Principles of Religion to lead them thus to affirm, againſt them, whoſe Principles did encourage them thus to deny. But, ſaith the above cited Authour, Berry *at the ſame time* [of his death] *declared himſelf both innocent and a Proteſtant.* That Perſons may declare themſelves Proteſtants whilſt they are Papiſts, is not what we are at this time a day ignorant of; and of which we have ſtore of Inſtances: And that profeſſed Proteſtants may deny at their death thoſe crimes which they are juſtly charged with and condemned for, is what we need not the help of an Author of theirs to ſhew us *Precedents* in; for 'tis what we freely confeſs. But that our Religion ſhould be the worſe for it, or that *the Proteſtant Doctrine is guilty of it*, as he would have it, needs more than his bare affirmation

New Plot Ibid. V. Abboti Antilog. p. 34. a

Compendium. p. 75.

tion to gain credit and belief; when we have no ſuch thing as a Diſpenſation before-hand or Abſolution after it, without deteſtation, *&c.* to befriend us. Now whether *Berry* did declare himſelf a Proteſtant, and deny the Fact upon their Principles; or whether he did deny the Fact upon no Principles, is one in effect as to the preſent caſe: But that he did deny what he knew to be true, beſides the Evidence otherwiſe againſt him, we have no little reaſon to think from his ſilence at his death, *when he ſaid not any thing, either in aſſerting his innocence as to the murder of Sir* Edmund, *neither as to the Religion he died in*; As one that was preſent, and not a little concerned to obſerve, doth affirm. It looks very odd that he ſhould profeſs ſo much remorſe for his diſſimulation in his Religion, and ſo much innocency in the point he was condemned for; and yet at his Execution, ſhould not clear himſelf, but paſs by both as if he had not bin concerned. This is ſo irreconcileable either to his ſincerity in the one, or innocency in the other, that it was foreſeen; and therefore as a Speech was prepared for *Hill*, before his death, ſo another is made for *Berry* after it. *He then declared himſelf both innocent and a Proteſtant*, ſaith one: *He abſolutely denied at the very Gallows, the Fact: Nay, as the Cart was drawing away, he lifted up his hands, and ſaid, as I am innocent, ſo receive my Soul, O Jeſus*; as another relleth us. And yet he ſpoke not one word to either. Now what reaſon have we to believe his ſilence beyond others proteſtations at their death? and yet ſome Mens Proteſtations of that kind are no more to be believed by this Author, (as that of the Lord *Caſtlehaven's*, which he mentions) than we believe thoſe of *Hill* and *Green*.

Smith's account of the 14 Malefactors, *&c.* p. 18.

New Plot. Ibid. Compendium. p. 20.

So far then we are not without Reaſon to convince us, that theſe perſons were ſome of Sir *Edmund's true*

Murderers

Murderers. But then if we shall add to this, the strange circumstances of *Prance's* apprehension, and the description *Bedlow* gave of such a person before it. If we consider what Sir *Edmond* himself did foretell about his being the *first Martyr*; and the notice that *Dugdale* gave of his death, two days before it was known at *London* what became of him, and many other circumstances which might easily be collected; We have good marks to find out the Murtherers by, and *the door, at which his death is to be laid.*

Tryal of *Whitebread*, &c. p. 26.

The second thing owned by the aboveſaid Author for *an overt Act*, is the Conſult in *April* 24 (not the 14th as he miſtakes) But that he would have to be only a *Triennial meeting* in courſe. But then what needed *ſo great ſecreſie as to time and place*, and ſuch care to be taken *not to haſten to* London *long before the time, nor to appear much about the Town till the meeting be over, leſt occaſion ſhould be given to ſuſpect the Deſign*, which the Letter doth ſpeak of? Then, how came it to paſs, that there were other Conſults, and that Mr. *Ireland* ſhould take ſuch a Journey, as from Staffordſhire to *London*, by Poſt in *Auguſt*, to be preſent at it; as beſides the then proof, Mr. *Jennifon* doth affirm, and his own hand hath made evident? or if the *Regiſter* ſpoken of, was only about Conſults for that purpoſe, why was not that Book produced, as deſired, for their Vindication?

The Trial of Ireland *p.* 53.

p. 40.

P. 47.

What other overt Acts there were, as *Coleman's* Letters, *Seals for Commiſſions* (upon which *Whitebread* only anſwered, *the taking them out of his Chamber was more than they had power to do*) and the like, I ſhall not further ſearch after, but leave it to what is, and will be further made publick by Authority. But what hath been ſaid already is ſufficient to ſhew, how little truth there is in what the aboveſaid Author doth fantaſtically affirm, *viz.* that the charge of the Plot *is only ſupported by the breath of the Witneſſes coined into Oaths.*

P. 54.

New-Plot. p. 15.

2. He

2. He ſaith that in the Powder-Treaſon *there was the flight of ſome of the Conſpirators, and the reſiſtance at their taking.* But *not one Perſon in this pretended Conſpiracy did either fly, or abſcond (except only the Prieſts, who were obnoxious to the Law for their Prieſthood) nay the greateſt part of them, upon the firſt rumour of their accuſation, came in and tender'd themſelves.* Ibid.

But I deny, (1) that its an undoubted mark of a perſon's Innocency, that he did not fly when a Treaſon was diſcovered, and he had an opportunity of making his eſcape. For the caſe may be, that he may not be charged with it, and then if he flys he brings it upon himſelf. So *Treſham* in the Powder-Treaſon *ſtill continued about the Court, that he might thereby ſeem wholly free and innocent*; as an Author above quoted obſerves. (2.) He may ſtay and yet be guilty, upon a preſumption that the Charge may not be made good, and he may eſcape *for want of proof*, as *Garnet* hoped. (3.) He may ſtay and yet be guilty, as preſuming, that though the Charge be made good; yet he hath perſons of power and intereſt great enough to interpoſe betwixt him and danger. And therefore rather than be declared guilty by flight, or betray and diſcredit his Cauſe, or diſtruſt his Friends, he may chooſe to ſtay, though he be no more innocent than thoſe that fly. Compendium. p. 74.

But after all, is *it not poſſible that not one ſhould be found, whoſe guilt, or fear did prevail upon him to fly and ſecure himſelf*, &c. as he ſaith it is not? He grants the Prieſts did fly; but *it was becauſe they were obnoxious to the Law for their Prieſthood.* If that was the reaſon, then there had been no Prieſt but what would have fled; thoſe that were not charged with this Treaſon, as well as thoſe that were: for, ſetting aſide this new charge, all as Prieſts are alike obnoxious; and yet we find all did not alike fly.

But

Tryal of Green, *&c.* *p.*21,43.&c. But were there none but Prieſts that fled, then where are thoſe *Laymen* that were concerned in the charge of Sir *Edmund*'s murther, and that are ſo often mentioned in the Tryals? What are become of many perſons whom it is not for me to name, but are known to have reſided beyond Seas, ever ſince the Examination into this buſineſs? Ibid.p. 67. Now if what one of themſelves ſaith be true, that *flight is a ſign of guilt*, then theſe are ſelf-condemned, that put it upon this iſſue, and ſay that *the ſtouteſt man, had he been guilty, would have fled upon ſuch warning: but the moſt timerous of Nature did not fly, becauſe he was innocent.*

New Plot. Ibid. New Plot *p.*13,15. Compendium. p.75. 3. He ſaith, *thoſe that were executed for the Powder-Treaſon, did all confeſs the Fact at the time of Execution: Whereas thoſe that have been executed for this Plot have at their Deaths denied the Fact, and reſiſted all temptations of Pardon, and Reward*, &c. That the Traytors in the Powder-Treaſon did confeſs the Fact, we readily own; if they mean thereby the Treaſon, as it was at firſt hatched: But that they did thus confeſs, and not perſiſt in the proteſtation of their Innocency to the Death, was not becauſe *their Conſciences would not diſpenſe with it, or their Religion not permit them to be obſtinate and forſwear themſelves*, (as a late Author of theirs would have us believe) but for other reaſons; as I have ſhewed at large before*. For I queſtion, not but that as *Faux* did *lay the blame at firſt wholly upon himſelf:* ſo he would have ſworn to it alſo, if it had not been the Torture that he ſtood more in awe of, than his Conſcience. It was upon this ſcore and not his Religion, as the Author of the *Compendium* doth ſuppoſe, that *the Lords laught at his Huffing and Bravadoes*, ſince otherwiſe they would rather have put him to his Oath, than to the Rack, to have extorted a Confeſſion from him; and therefore to make uſe of his caſe amongſt others,

Compend. *p.*73.

*V. Pag.35, 40,& 46.

Compend. *p.*73.

as

as the aboveſaid Author doth, to oppoſe to the caſe of the Perſons that were lately executed, and that denied the Fact at their Execution, is nothing to the purpoſe. Before Their caſe then will be of uſe to the vindication of Theſe, now, they muſt prove that the whole Plot was at that time confeſſed by the Conſpirators, that they never denied any thing which they were upon Oath charged with, and that they had no Principles to warrant them if they did. But the contrary to theſe is manifeſt, as hath been already ſhewed, and ſo can do them little ſervice. Without doubt had the Traytors then had as much Power to conceal the whole, as they did the greateſt part of it, and could as well have kept to themſelves what they did confeſs, as well as what they did not, we had been little the wiſer. They then were of the ſame Religion, & acted upon the ſame Principles as the others now; and therefore that they then did confeſs, and theſe did not, was becauſe their Circumſtances were different, and not becauſe They were guilty, and Theſe were innocent. For if the other had been in theſe Mens condition, I do not doubt but they would as obſtinately have denied; and if Theſe had been in their condition, I as little doubt but that they would have confeſſed according as they did then. The others denied, as long as Denial would do them good, and till they ſaw it could not be denied, having clear proof againſt them: And theſe did deny and obſtinately perſiſt ſo to do, for want of other proof than the Oaths of others; and ſo their denial being oppoſed to the others affirming, their forſwearing it to the other Oaths, their dying words to the others that were to live, they did not queſtion but the World would believe they had Truth on their ſide. And when the Principles and Honour of their Religion, their own Credit, and ſafety of their Friends, and the fear

Vid. pag. 35. &c.

of Damnation to boot (which often prevails with Men more then the hopes of a present Reward) do engage them; it's not impossible that they should deny, and dye in the denial of what is true.

4. The aboveſaid Author adds, that *all perſons indifferently, both Papiſts and Proteſtants*, &c. *believed the thing* [the Powder-Treaſon] *and no ſoul living did deny it.* Deny it, how could they, ſince there was Powder, and Match diſcovered, and *Faux* was apprehended upon the Place? Deny it how could they, ſince ſome of the Traytors were actually killed, or taken in an Inſurrection; and thoſe that were taken did confeſs it more or leſs? But what the Conſpirators would have done themſelves, and what others alſo of the ſame perſwaſion would have ſaid, if there had been nothing but the Oaths of Witneſſes againſt them, we muſt go to their Principles and Practice to conjecture. But though they could not deny the matter of Fact, yet they have done what they could towards it; For ſome tell us, as hath been ſhewed, that *Cecil* (*to ruin the Party*) *drew thoſe fiery men in by his ſubtile tricks and artifice.* Others, that *this deſperate Attempt ſeemed rather of a private kindred or acquaintance, than of any Religion.* Nay they have the Confidence to ſay, *That the true Prieſts and Catholicks of* England *knew them* [the Traytors] *not to be Papiſts* &c. *and they were never Frequenters of Catholick Sacraments with any Prieſt*, &c. If men will dare to ſay theſe things, when their own Writings are againſt them, and when we read there of the great endearedneſs 'twixt *Cateſby*'s family and the Jeſuits, 'twixt *Cateſby* and *Garnet*, 'twixt Sir *Everard* and *Gerard*, &c. they may as well deny the whole, and we may thereby know what they would do if they had not matter of Fact, and *overt Acts* too viſibly and apparently in their way. If they

Compend. p. 74.
Advocate of Conſcience p. 226.
Ibid. & A Plea for *Engl.* Prieſts printed 1621. p. 55, & 58.

they will ſay things ſo notoriouſly and evidently falſe, what may we not expect when a Plot is made out *purely by the dint of ſwearing?* (as one doth phraſe it): Though in our preſent caſe there is *more then the Credulity of people to corroborate* that Teſtimony, notwithſtanding whatever he is there pleaſed to ſay. New-Plot. p. 12.

From what hath been ſaid, we may ſee how little foundation there is for the oppoſing the Plot of the Powder-Treaſon to the late one amongſt our ſelves; and how little the Proceedings and Confeſſions of the Conſpirators in the former, will ſerve to clear the Innocency of thoſe that ſuffered in the later.

But becauſe they have thus oppoſed the one to the other, I ſhall on the otherſide, before I conclude, conſider how they do agree; and that we may obſerve,

1. As the Plots were in proſecution, & before diſcovery.
2. In the way by which they were diſcovered.
3. In the event, and what happened upon and after Diſcovery.

In the firſt of theſe, I have the way in part traced out by Sir *Samuel Baldwyn, one of his Majeſties Serjeants at Law*, in Mr. *Ireland*'s Trial, who doth there mention two or three Particulars, in which this Plot doth reſemble that of the *Powder-Treaſon*. And that it doth, in the matter of it, the principal Agents concerned in it, the Principles which they proceeded upon, and the way in which it was managed, *&c.* *Tryals of* Ireland, *&c.* p. 12.

(1.) There is an agreement in the matter, ſo ſaith that worthy perſon, *that horrid Deſign* [of the Powder-Treaſon] *was to take away the life of the then King, to ſubvert the Government, to introduce the Popiſh Religion, and to deſtroy the eſtabliſhed Proteſtant Religion in* England; *and ſo we think our proofs will make it out, that in each of theſe particu-*

lars this Deſign is the ſame that that was. Thus far he. That it was ſo in that former Plot is univerſally acknowledged; and that it was ſo here is what the Evidence doth concur in. How far it was to introduce the Popiſh Religion, Mr *Colemans* Letter doth ſhew, who ſaith, *we have here a mighty work upon our hands, no leſs than the Converſion of three Kingdoms, and by that means the utter ſubduing of a peſtilent Hereſie which has domineer'd over a great part of this Northern World a long time; there was never ſuch hopes of ſucceſs ſince the death of our Queen Mary, as now in our days.* And how all this could be done without ſubverting the Government, or how both the one and the other could be done without taking away the Life of his Majeſty, is not eaſie to be underſtood.

Coleman's 2d Letter in his Tryal. p. 69.

(2.) There is an agreement in the principal Agents concerned in it. *The great Actors in the Powder Treaſon,* ſaith Sir Samuel, *were Prieſts and Jeſuits,* &c. *and ſo are they in this. That chiefly guided and managed by* Henry Garnet, *Provincial of the Jeſuits in* England; *and the great Actor in this deſign is Mr.* Whitebread, *Provincial of the ſame Order.*

(3.) There is an agreement in the Principles which they proceeded upon. As firſt in General, *that any thing is lawful which may ſerve the Cauſe,* and in particular that *an Heretick Prince may be depoſed and killed; That an Heretick People may be deſtroyed; and that a Forreign Force, to ſerve thoſe ends, may be invited over, and introduced.* That theſe were the Principles which they in the Powder-Treaſon went upon, is evident from the Hiſtory it ſelf, and what hath been ſaid before *: and they were the ſame conſiderations which gave birth and encouragement to the preſent Deſign, as we may ſee throughout the Trials. This was the ground of *Staley's* diſpleaſure againſt the King,

* p. 25, 46, 48, 56, *&c.*

Stayley's Tryal p. 5.

King, *that he was an Heretick*; this was the ground of the other practices againſt him not only here, but alſo in *Ireland*. And *the ſubduing the peſtilent Hereſie which domineer'd here*, was the great reaſon of Mr. *Colemans* correſpondence with the French King's Confeſſor, and of ſoliciting *Aid and Aſſiſtance* from thence. *Fitz Geralds Nar. p. 7.* *Vid. p. 31. Ireland's Trial, pag. 10-28.

(4.) There is an agreement in the management of both' (1.) In point of ſecreſy, obliging one another by Oaths and the Sacrament. I have ſhewed that ſo it was in the Powder-Treaſon. * And that it was ſo here, all the Witneſſes do maintain. (2.) In the ſecret Preparations that were made. So it was in the other, as I have ſhewed*. And the like information we have here of Moneys, (*a*) Forces, and (*b*) Commiſſions, *&c.* *Dugdale's further Informat. p. 16 (a) Colemans Trial. p. 26. (b) Fitz-Geralds Nar. p. 4, &c.

(5.) They agree in the State they were in, and the little provocation that was given them to begin and form ſuch a Deſign. So it was in the Powder-Treaſon, when they *had not ſo much as a pretended cauſe of grief*, as K. *James* in his Speech ſaid, but were obliged by him, as I have ſhewed †. And ſo it had been here: For whereas by the Statute of 25 *Eliz. the Prieſts might be tried as ſuch, and ought to die for it, yet they at this time have been ſo mercifully dealt with, as they have been ſuffered to live amongſt us under the danger of the Statute*, as Sir *Creſwel Levins* obſerved: and the Laity hath been little diſturbed by the enforcements of the Laws made againſt them. Thus it was in *England*; As the Parliament in their late Addreſs to his Majeſty, hath abundantly ſhewed; and how it was in *Ireland*, a Gentleman of that Nation gives us an Account. † Trials of *Whitebread*, &c. p. 10, 11. *Addreſs, Novemb. 29.* *Fitz Geralds Narrative. p. 30.

(6.) There is an agreement in the Prophecies (as they would have them accounted) of the great Change that would happen in a ſhort time. So it was before the *Powder Treaſon*, as I have ſhewed *. And ſo it was now; what *p. 16, & 25.

what Cardinal *Barbarin* ſhould ſay of this nature, hath bin depoſed before the Lord's, and Reports of the ſame kind have been very common at home and abroad, as hundreds can teſtifie.

Smith's Narrative p. 27.

2. As there was an agreement in the ſtate of things before it was diſcovered; ſo there is no little reſemblance in the way by which they were diſcovered. For, was there a Letter writ? ſo were here Papers found of *Coleman*'s, and *Harcourt*'s. Did there ſome confeſs then? ſo ſome did here. Did ſome of them fly and abſcond for it then? ſo they have done here alſo; as I have ſhewed before.

3. There is great reſemblance in the Event, and what happened and was done upon and after the diſcovery. As,

(1.) More was left undiſcovered than was diſcovered. What kind of help the deſign of the Powder-Treaſon required in it ſelf, and what Intelligence the State had then of Forces, Arms, Horſes and Moneys, I have before ſhewed *. And yet little of any of theſe was found out; inſomuch as an Apologiſt of theirs doth venture to plead, as to one Branch, *Where was that great ſum of Money, talk'd of, found?* or, *how much of it was confiſcated and brought into the Kings Exchequer?* And ſo it happened now; for tho the Deſign could not be carried on without, and Information accordingly hath been given of Proviſions made in that kind; yet what from the pretences thoſe Forces and Moneys were raiſed under (as we have the Account*) what from the diſtribution of Arms into ſeveral hands, without keeping Stores and Magazines; what from the timely notice they had to diſpoſe of them; not ſo much hath been diſcovered, but that alſo an Advocate of theirs, doth plead after the like manner as before, *There has not been found any ill Letter, any Commiſſion, any Bill of Exchange, any Money, any Arms, any Horſes, or any thing elſe ſuſpi-*

* p. 20, &c.

Endemon Apol. p. 278.

* *Fitz-Gerald's* inform. that. p. 11. *Smith's* Narrat. p. 30. Compend. p. 85.

tious

tious. With how much truth this is ſaid in all reſpects, *Coleman's* Letters, and Arms in ſome quantities taken, and other particulars, do prove. But yet it muſt be acknowledged that though much is proved againſt them, yet more is ſtill undiſcovered than diſcovered.

(2.) There is a great reſemblance in the ways taken to fling off what hath been diſcovered, and to conceal what hath not. As,

1. By charging it upon others. Thus we find them practiſing in the buſineſs of the Powder-Treaſon. If it had ſucceeded, the whole was to have been laid to the charge of the Puritans; and when it did not ſucceed, they tell us it was *the trick of a Miniſter of State*, and that *the Conſpirators were not Papiſts*, as hath been before declared. And that ſame method hath been obſerved now. For if the preſent Deſign had taken, and the King had been killed; *they had ſettled ſome, whom they ſhould pitch the Action upon*, and intended *to lay it upon the Presbyterians*, as hath been depoſed. But ſince its now broke forth, and hath not hitherto ſucceeded, they have taken care to charge as much of it as they can otherwhere. Firſt, There is a *ſham-Plot* ſtarted, and a Deſign laid to make the Presbyterians, or whomſoever they pleaſed ſo to call, to be the only Conſpirators. And becauſe the death of Sir *Edmund-bury*, if found upon them, would lend us a great light toward the revealing the Plot, and be no little inducement to mankind to believe it, they had thoughts of charging it *upon debauched perſons, of whom he was a proſecutor.* When that was not likely to take, they did endeavour to make the *Earl of Danby* the Contriver of it. And becauſe that was ſoon diſproved, then, its ſaid, that his own Party did murder him, and laid it upon the Papiſts to make them odious.

Bedlow's laſt Examinat. p. 5. *Dugdale's* Informat. p. 5. *Dangerfield's* Nar.

Dugdale's Informat. p. 8.

Reflections on the E. of *Danby.*

2. There

2. There is the like method taken to avoid the Charge, *by calumniating of Authority.* So they did in the Powder-Treason: Then the Judges were *Lyars*; the Privy-Councellors *cruel*, for ordering *Garnet*, and *Hall*, &c. to be tortured; (as they publiſhed, but publiſh'd falſly to the World, as hath been ſhewed before *.) And the publick Writings, and what was juſtified to be true by Authority, were ſaid to be *forged.* In like manner have they now proceeded, for they tell us that thoſe that ſuffered by the Sentence of the Court *were innocent in the judgment of unbiaſſed and diſcerning men.* That *Prance* was *threatned by the Lords that went to examine him*, and was *tortured* to make him accuſe others.

* Hiſt. p. 26. Vindicat. p. 13. & 36. *Eudem.* parallel *Torti*, &c. p. 261. Compendium. p. 16. & 67.

3. To avoid or weaken the Charge, falſe reports are raiſed uponthoſe that amongſt themſelves do confeſs. So in the Powder-Treaſon we are told that *Bates* and *Littleton recanted*, and that what ever *Bates* accuſed the reſt of was *through the hopes of life*, as hath been ſhewed before. * So they have proceeded at this time much after the like manner. Not to tepeat all the ſtories that they have made, or made uſe of to impair the Credit of the Witneſſes; nor to undertake to diſtinguiſh betwixt what's true and what's falſe in this matter, I ſhall only inſtance in that which is made publick to the World. Of this kind was the Deſign which was laid to charge *Oates* with *Sodomy*, and him and *Bedlow* with a *Conſpiracy againſt the Lord Treaſurer.* And, which is ſomewhat a kin to this, the tampering with *Bedlow*, to recall what he had ſaid, or to make him *eaſie* in what he ſhould ſay againſt the great Conſpirators; that ſo they might either make him theirs, or render him leſs able to hurt them, when they could accuſe him of liſtning to ſuch Propoſals.

Malice defeated. p. 3.

*P. 63, & 65

V. The printed Narat.

Mr. *Reading*'s Trial.

4. They did endeavour to diſguiſe and conceal it, by being

being obstinate when apprehended. This hath been before discoursed of with respect to the Gunpowder-Treason * when they denied whatever could be denied, and equivocated in what was not to be denied, even to the death. And thus it was in this present Plot. Without doubt had *Coleman's* Letters not been taken, all the Correspondence that was maintained in that way betwixt him and the French King's Confessor, would as obstinatly be denied, as it was by him, that any such was continued after 1675, which was the year the last of those Letters was dated in. Or had not the Letter been found amongst *Harcourt's* Papers, which mentions the Consult *April* 24th, they would sooner have denied the thing, than have rack'd their Wit to have put it upon the score of a *Triennial meeting*. Things that were not to be denied, 'tis no wonder if they do confess; but things that depend upon yea and no, 'tis no wonder that they do deny. This *Hall* and *Gannet* did practise, and the same liberty that they took, 'tis likely the persons of late amongst us also did use, when they have the same Principles, to allow it.

* P. 34, &c. p. 63, & 84.

From what hath been said we see, that the Powder-Treason and this present Plot do agree in far more Circumstances than they differ, and those that they differ in are not so great but they are capable of an easie accommodation. And this leads me to the

3. General. To shew the ground of that difference which is betwixt Plot and Plot, Criminals and Criminals. And the great instance is, the Confession of the one, and Denial of the other. This an Author of theirs doth triumph in; *I challenge*, saith he, *all mankind to assign a Cause of this difference with the least colour of Reason and Humanity.* But, as I have before said *, He must first prove that the Conspirators then did confess ingenuously, candidly and freely. For if they confess'd what they could not deny; if

New Plot p. 16.

* p. 85.

they again would have denied what they had confeſſed; if, further, they did often equivocate when they did pretend to confeſs; if, laſtly, they did deny and conceal more of what they knew, then they did confeſs and diſcover, as I have made it evident they did *: Then *Garnets* Confeſſion is equal to *Whitebread's* Denial; and *Whitebread's* Denial differs not materially from *Garnet's* Confeſſion. Both theſe may be, and yet there be *no new Creed, nor new Faith ſince thoſe days amongſt them*; as the aforeſaid Author would infer there muſt, upon this different event, if we allow not both to be innocent. Denying and confeſſing are indeed in themſelves incompatible, and had it bin true which the above-cited Authors do ſay, that *all of the Conſpirators in the 'Powder-Treaſon did acknowledge their Treaſons, and asked God and the King pardon* (which I have ſhewed to be otherwiſe *) and impartially confeſſed all that they knew of that matter; then their Confeſſion might be well oppoſed to theſe men's Denial: but when the Confeſſion was ſo reſtrained and qualified (as I have above ſhewed) it's a plain ſign, that had there bin nothing but Conſcience and Principles in their way (as theſe pretend) they would have taken another courſe; and the *Scævola Faux*, that had the Courage to ſay, and without doubt to do what he ſaid, that *if he had happened to be within the Houſe, as he was without, when they took him, he would not have failed to have blown up Himſelf, Them, Houſe and all*: and he that alſo *laid all the blame upon himſelf*, and would *own no Complices*, would have died with the ſame Roman reſolution, had not the Rack brought him to better manners *. This Sir *Everard Digby* did believe of him, *I knew*, ſaith he, *that he* [*Faux*] *had been imployed in great matters, and till Torture, ſure he carried it very well.* There is a time that it is either not poſſible, or to no purpoſe to deny, and then there can be no trial of a Man's Principles.

Thus

* p. 37, &c.

New Plot. Ibid.

* p. 46.

Proceed. p. 37.

* As I before obſerved p. 84. Paper 9.

Thus it was with *Watſon* and *Clark* in King *James*'s time, who knew that they were betrayed by the Jeſuits, and ſo were thereby diſabled to *prevent the danger and ſcandal likely to befal their Party by their Confeſſion*, had they been willing to *ſwear they were innocent, and to take it upon their death.* There was not an opportunity for them to make that Experiment upon themſelves, nor to give us an Evidence how far *their Conſciences would have diſpenſed with ſo doing.* And ſo it was no fit caſe for the above ſaid Authour to oppoſe to this at preſent for that reaſon as well as another, *viz.* that they were not Jeſuits, nor of their Party. They muſt make the circumſtances the ſame, and ſhew that what was then confeſſed, was ſincere & free, full and particular; that they never did deny when asked upon Oath, nor equivocate in what they did confeſs, nor ever unſay what they had ſaid; before we can believe they did confeſs meerly becauſe *their Conſciences could not diſpence with ſo horrid a thing* (as that Author calls it) *as ſwearing they were innocent, and taking it upon their death.* But if they cannot prove this, and the caſe is apparently otherwiſe, as I have before ſhewed; then for all this diſcourſe and buſtle of theirs, *in comparing the Powder-Treaſon with this Plot, and the Paſſages and Comportments of the Criminals upon that occaſion, with theſe of our modern pretended* (as they ſay) *Conſpirators*, we are ſtill where we were, and have good reaſon to believe that both Thoſe then, and Theſe now did act by like Principles and Meaſures; and that they did confeſs or deny with the like ſincerity that our Author gave a Book that he writ in defence of the Papiſts and Popiſh Traitors, the Title of *the new Plot of the Papiſts, to transform Traitors into Martyrs*; and call'd that a *New Plot*, which we in *England* know to be as ancient as the days of *Thomas a Becket.*

Compend. P. 73.

FINIS.

CONTENTS of the History of the Powder-Treason.

THE Rise of the Powder-Treason, page 2, &c.
The Treason it self, 5
The Confederates, and the Oath of Secresie, 5, 6, 7
The way of managing it, 7
The Letter to the Lord Monteagle, 11
By whom writ, 19
The King's interpretation of it, 13
The discovery upon it, 15
The Insurrection of the Traitors in Warwickshire, and their Apprehension, 16, 17
Their Examination, 18
and Arraignment, 25
and Execution, 26
The Apprehension of Garnet and Hall, p. 19 & 20. Their Examination, p. 26. Their Tryal & Execution, 29
The flight of some of the Conspirators beyond Sea, and their favourable reception there, 30

CONTENTS of the Vindication.

Sect. 1. p. 2.

THE Conspiracy of the Powder Treason was not the Contrivance of a Minister of State. An Account of the Letter wrote to the Lord Monteagle, that it was not written by a Decoy, and that Tresham was no such. A Character of the Apologists that wrote upon this subject. The Correspondence that is maintained betwixt the Jesuits. Their Calumnies. An account of the Breves of Clement the 8th; and of the Lord Balmerinoch's Letter.

Sect. 2. p. 20.

That more were concerned in the Powder-Treason than were publickly known. The Design it self considered. The Character of the persons chiefly concerned in it. The Provisions made for it. The Prayers which were then used. An account of the Evidence then given. The Confession of the Traitors imperfect. That what they confessed was not from Conscience. Their Obstinacy, especially in concealing the Priests.

Sect. 3. p. 53.

Those that fled and suffered for the Powder Treason were really guilty. What Jesuits were in it. The Tryal of Garnet. That something related in Confession may and ought to be discovered. Garnet had the knowledg of the Plot out of Confession. That He and the other Jesuits did satisfie the Consciences of the Scrupulous.

Sect. 4. p. 67.

That the Powder-Treason was undertaken upon the account of Religion. That King James gave them no assurance of Favour.

Sect. 5. p. 71.

That the Church of Rome never gave any real and good satisfaction of the abhorrency of that Treason. The Commendations which they give of the Traitors. The Sainctship which they give to Garnet and Hall. The favour which those that fled for it found at Rome.

Sect. 6. p. 76.

The Powder-Treason and the present Popish Plot compared. That they agree in more things than they differ; and what they differ in, are not so material as what they do agree in.

C.37.